A NEW SLAVERY

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FORCED LABOR:
The Communist Betrayal of Human Rights

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Editor

Introduction by A. A. BERLE, JR.

AN OCEANA PUBLICATION

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 53-8867

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(Showing Locations of Forced Labor Camps)

MEMO

. . . to the Reader

What is "A New Slavery?"

This book is a powerful and documentary report of the evidence of an entirely new form of slavery — the forced, involuntary labor of hundreds of thousands of persons in communist states who, without due process of law, are adjudged guilty of political "crimes," uprooted from their homes and imprisoned in dreary camps, there to toil for the State.

In hewing to the line of investigation currently being conducted by the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor (See Chapter I), this work excludes from consideration other forms of forced labor—ordinary prison labor, political exile within a country, ancient forms of human slavery which still exist in parts of the world, peonage (i.e. forced labor without pay for an employer), forced labor systems in certain colonial lands where an annual period of work is required in lieu of taxes, and compulsory labor required in some countries in national emergencies.

All of these forms of forced labor have little relation to the control of political opposition. It is the unique characteristic of the communist system of forced labor that it combines the suppression and punishment of political opposition with the utilization of this opposition as a source of cheap, heavy labor for government enterprises.

How Was the Evidence Assembled?

The material in this book was compiled from various

sources. Many of them are listed in the Ready References. That concerning the United Nations comes from official records. That concerning particular countries is drawn from both published and unpublished testimony of forced laborers who escaped, from the laws and orders which appear in the Appendix, and from historical accounts in books and articles by qualified authorities. The data relating to the number and location of the forced labor camps, which is superimposed on the specially prepared inset maps that precede each chapter, is taken from presentations made to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor during its sittings in June and November, 1952. In each chapter there is a reference to the national and international committees which submitted testimony to the UN Committee on Forced Labor in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries.

In a field where sources are so limited by secrecy and the impossibility of on-the-spot investigation, gaps are inevitable and material uneven and in some cases thin. Thus, there is nothing on the laws of Albania, nothing on Communist China, varying coverage on the East European satellites, and no specific evidence of numbers of camps or inmates in occupied East Germany. But every effort has been made to include up-to-date evidence, comprehensive enough to furnish the reader an objective, bird's eye view of this new form of involuntary servitude in all its aspects.

Assembling and processing the material has been a cooperative undertaking in which many organizations and individuals have shared. Grateful acknowledgment is due the staffs of the Mid-European Studies Center and the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., which made available reports and files on forced labor in the captive states of Europe. Valuable assistance was also furnished by the Mid-European Law Project of the Library of Congress. Mr. Baldwin directed the research work undertaken by Neal Buhler of the Mid-European Studies Center, to which was added some material prepared by Albert K. Herling of the Com-

mission of Inquiry into Forced Labor, a private agency in New York. Assistance in the editing of the material was furnished by Edwin S. Newman of the American Jewish Committee.

The book is not the official responsibility of any organization. Since it follows the human rights principles of the International League for the Rights of Man, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Berle write as officers of that organization.

What Can You Do About Forced Labor?

The book is not intended solely as a reference Its practical purpose is to arouse interest in the United Nations inquiry into forced labor and to lend that inquiry the support of informed public opinion. Only by such exposure can there ultimately be developed that worldwide groundswell of public opinion that alone may have any impact on the Soviet Union and her satellites.

Readers who are moved by what they read here are urged to take the following action·

1. *Write either the Human Rights Division of the United Nations, New York City, or the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland, expressing interest in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor, and ask to be put on the mailing list for its report.*

2. *Write the International League for the Rights of Man, 25 East 64th Street, New York City 21, expressing your view of this book, and if favorable, sending in names of others likely to be interested in getting it. The League will send further United Nations material, as available, on request.*

3. *Try to interest private organizations in the international field in the United Nations efforts so that the matertial may be more widely spread and commented upon.*

4. *When the issue of action to be taken is scheduled for the United Nations General Assembly, as seems likely, express your views to your country's delegation, and endeavor to get organizations with which you are connected to do so.*

5. *Write to editors of influential papers urging editorial comment as issues of forced labor may arise in the news.*

THE PUBLISHER

PREFACE

This study is the first, and I think the only authenticated, account of the slave labor system set up by the Soviet government within its own territories, and by the communist governments of the countries now captives of the Soviet regime It merits the serious attention of everyone interested in the problem of world Communism.

The Mid-European Studies Center in New York, maintained by the National Committee for A Free Europe, Inc., had been accumulating material on the slave labor system for several years Our primary interest was in the captive countries of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania But it was impossible to consider this system apart from the slave labor system of the Soviet Union itself. The research was done under the direction of the Mid-European Studies Center by a number of exile associates, including Messrs. Stoicoiu, Dellin, Pisky, Stolz, Szumski, Profous and Pehr. Legal materials were supplied by the Mid-European Law Project of the Library of Congress. The Department of State was kind enough to make available to us affidavits from a number of individuals who had personal knowledge of slave labor camps in these countries Additional evidence was obtained from material and information which continuously flows into Radio Free Europe, itself a division of the National Committee for A Free Europe and thus an affiliate of the Mid-European Studies Center. We thus gradually acquired what I believe to be the most complete and most nearly authentic body of material on this subject available outside the Soviet Union itself

Meanwhile the United Nations had become interested in the problem of forced labor. Its interest took the form of an *Ad Hoc* Committee, jointly constituted by UNESCO and by the International Labor Organization. This Com-

mittee sat in 1952. An association of non-governmental organizations, The International League for the Rights of Man, which has the right to make presentations to the United Nations, requested our materials and help in preparing them for submission to the Committee. The Mid-European Studies Center gladly acceded. After preliminary hearing in New York and at the urging of the Committee's Chairman, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, formal presentation was made to the *Ad Hoc* Committee at its session held in Geneva, Switzerland, on November 5, 1952, by Mr. Richard Carlton on behalf of the International League for the Rights of Man.

* * *

Reemergence of slave labor as a recognized part of an economic system presents the world with a grave situation. We felt justified in presenting the data to the public as well as to the United Nations committee Accordingly, we requested Mr. Roger Baldwin, former head of the American Civil Liberties Union in the United States (and presently Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man which had presented the data to the United Nations) to put the material into book form. This volume is the result

Mr. Baldwin has been a life-long student of civil liberties (of which forced labor is a major invasion) and is an expert on the subject. A convinced liberal, he will not be accused of being motivated by mere hostility to the Soviet Union. The resulting volume fully demonstrates that the materials thus painstakingly gathered by the National Committee for A Free Europe and Mid-European Studies Center were placed in good hands.

* * *

A word must be said about the system of forced labor —the new form of slavery worked up by the Soviet system. Apologists originally justified the Russian concentration camps on the theory that they were merely "the excesses" of a revolutionary period. But the birth-crises of revolution which might excuse that sort of excess (if one admits it is ever excusable) ended more than a genera-

tion ago. The present communist forced labor and slave camp system is certainly not an unfortunate temporary phenomenon tossed up by the throes of civil rebellion. It is a definite, permanent feature of communist government—a combined instrument of police state repression and of economic operation. It is also an integral part of a planned process of continual terror. Slave camps and forced labor slavery is one of the means depended on by Kremlin-dominated communist systems to maintain their economic life as well as to defend their tenure of power.

The world had believed human slavery, as a means of production, had been forever discarded by civilized nations a century ago The ghastly fact is that, in our time, it has been revived in a new and more cruel form.

The Mid-European Studies Center evidence makes all this clear beyond possibility of reasonable doubt. Data reaching us from behind the Iron Curtain, and patiently put together by the Staff, allows us even to map the forced labor camps in the satellite countries, and to articulate these camps with many alleged capital improvements and public developmental works claimed as achievements by the communist governments of these captive countries. It becomes plain that programs of constructing plants for heavy industries, for developing certain natural resources, and for enlarging parts of the transport systems in these areas depend specifically on maintaining concentration camps of prisoner-slaves and on a supply of forced labor steadily afforded by the secret police. The ebbing human energy of prisoner victims is thus turned to economic account or military advantage, as they helplessly struggle to survive, and so struggling, die by thousands.

For the new system is more inhumanly cruel than the slave systems which prevailed a century ago. Then, at least, slaves were costly property so that their owners had an interest in caring for their investment, in feeding their slaves sufficiently to make them effective, and in keeping them alive. The forced laborers of today are, by communist hypothesis, "criminals;" the agony of their final struggle is just punishment; the degradation of bodies and minds, the agony and breakdown of men and women can

be regarded in the communist system with complete indifference. After all, the potential supply is almost indefinite. It costs nothing to conscript a new lot, save the salaries and perquisites of the secret police. And there are terroristic advantages to be gained by abusing the poor wretches —none to be reaped from humane treatment.

It was fitting that the United Nations, acting through ECOSEC and through the International Labor Organization, should hear evidence on the subject. It was high time that this horrible practice should be submitted to world judgment.

A word should be said about the material. Obviously the *governments indulging this practice of forced* labor and slave camps have not invited any group of impartial observers to survey their operations in this regard. Obviously there are few authentic government or official reports on which to rely. The United Nations inquiry was bitterly resisted by the USSR and its captive governments. Secondary evidence therefore had to be used. Such evidence, though far from complete, does exist and can be refined to a state of reasonable reliability.

We do have the laws of these countries authorizing forced labor We do have captured documents, such as "The State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1941" (which was designed not to be published—but fell into German hands during the war and at its end came into British possession.) We do *have occasional admissions in Soviet documents* and the regulations governing Soviet camps in certain districts. There is, thus, a firm foundation on which to begin.

These document can be put alongside the testimony of a not inconsiderable number of men and women who have escaped from slave camps and have given an account of their personal experiences. They are given content by occasional orders intercepted by the Western Powers, requesting the secret police to round up and supply contingents of able-bodied people for forced labor. There is substantiating economic data indicating results. Taken together, the evidence, though insufficient in great areas, incontrovertibly indicates the main outline of the new slave system.

A grim comment must be made. Shortly after Hitler's Germany had seized Czechoslovakia, one of his ministers, Darre, called into conference in Prague a group of top Nazi functionaries. He made a speech outlining the slave labor system Hitler intended for the Czechs. This speech was taken down by an American observer, and was eventually delivered to me when I was Assistant Secretary of State In its major aspects, the communist system outlined in this study parallels the Hitlerian slave system, gloatingly outlined by the Nazi Darre as the destined fate of the Czech people.

* * *

As a fruitful by-product of this study, Mr. Baldwin has sketched the difficulty which American liberals found in crediting the reality of the Russian dictatorship He ascribes this to the fact that American liberals believed the Russian professions, and desperately hoped to the last moment that these professions would be realized in deeds. It will be remembered that many Americans refused at first to credit the bald horror of Nazi policy; the thing was so incredible that Americans considered it untrue So it has been with Communist policy. Unfortunately, amateurs in foreign affairs often believe what governments say, whereas cool professionals commonly judge by what governments do Mr Baldwin, as a notable non-Communist liberal rightly states the problem:

> "Not political prejudice, but hard facts, govern our condemnation of one of the most glaring aspects of the inhuman Communist police state theory—forced labor."

This is a lesson for liberals and conservatives alike. Figs do not grow from thistles. Welfare of peoples is not built on systematic imposition of agony and degradation of the human soul. Social progress is not built on organized cruelty. Peace does not result from perpetual class warfare. Freedom cannot be built on human slavery

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April, 1953.

FOREWORD

A PERSONAL VIEW OF THE NEW SLAVERY

Early Hopes and Doubts

When stories first began coming out of Russia in the 1930's of a huge system of forced labor for political dissenters, I was among those skeptics inclined to question as exaggerated the reports of such vast numbers held in inhuman bondage. My doubts were due to experience with exaggerations common to all Soviet phenomena, even today, whether by opponents, apologists or officials. Facts behind an Iron Curtain, obscure anyhow, are too readily distorted by political passion.

Though I had been, like so many liberals, disillusioned by evidence contradicting earlier high hopes for greater human freedoms under a professedly socialist state, I was hesitant to credit even a dictatorship with resorting to the wholesale uprooting of millions of its own citizens to be sent off to far places at hard labor. It denied every official claim to popular support of the regime. It compromised the communist appeal for working class support abroad.

Yet I was fully aware of the evils of the Soviet police state. As chairman of an American committee aiding political prisoners abroad, I had published back in 1924 a book of *Letters* from Russian prisons and from exile in Siberia, written not by reactionary opponents, but by socialists and, even then, by expelled Communists who ran afoul of the Party line.

A few years later, after a three months' tour of the Soviet Union, I published a book on *Liberty under the Soviets.* I concluded, with what now seems a naive op-

timism, that despite the single-party dictatorship, buttressed by its powerful secret political police and universal censorship, the evidence was stronger of tendencies toward the ultimate human rights and freedoms which Marxist principles prophesied.

But there was then no forced collectivization of the peasants' lands, with its terrible toll in starvation and exile; the trade unions had not been brought under rigid party control; education had not been Stalinized; the dictatorship had not rigidly cracked down on all opposition and dissent; the Communist Party had not been purged of all divergences. Forced labor was unheard of. The only evidence resembling it concerned the then comparatively small numbers of political prisoners either exiled to remote Siberian camps, as under the Czars, or segregated in what the secret police with some pride called its "model labor camps." Evidently, it was from these origins that the vast system of forced labor grew.

In a country undergoing the immense transformations brought about by the Russian Revolution, it was not unnatural that foreign observers like myself should have interpreted the uncertain balance of forces with differing emphasis. I was aware enough of the contradictions to warn that the evidence could be presented as encouraging or disheartening, according to temperament—and mine is optimistic Indeed I went further! I reckoned, with what later evidence proved misplaced faith, that the world communist movement was a force for democracy, and took part with many other liberals in united fronts for commendable ends likely to arouse popular support—anti-imperialism, peace and democracy. The betrayal of all humanitarian principles and democratic pretenses, dramatized by the Nazi-Soviet pact, ended all remaining illusions. The Soviet police state, and with it its servants, the communist parties, were revealed as politically and morally no different from the fascist states, and through the deception of lofty claims to salvation, even more dangerous to human freedom.

Final Disillusion

Grave doubts as to the balance of good against the evils of dictatorship troubled many long before the Nazi-Soviet pact brought final disillusion. Reports of the wholesale liquidation of peasant opposition to land collectivization in the early 1930's shook the faith of many; the purges and trials of the "old Bolsheviks" in 1936 and after shocked many more into incredulity and revulsion. But while many of us condemned the excesses of repression and deplored police state measures, we still maintained, until the pact of '39, a desperate hope that the lofty professions of anti-fascism, peace, democracy and anti-imperialism would somehow be realized in deeds.

It doubtless appears paradoxical that liberals known as defenders of civil liberties in the United States should have at any time looked favorably upon a dictatorship abroad. I think the paradox in the case of Russia in its earlier development is to be explained by the professed goals of liberty which the Communists exploited, by the belief that popular forces were encouraged to modify a dictatorship which, according to the formula, was finally to "wither away," and by the hope that the conquest of poverty, at which the Revolution aimed, would create a foundation for liberty. It took a lot of evidence to prove that these high ideals of freedom had been betrayed to unyielding police state power. But, even while the illusions lasted, the defenders of civil liberties were not on the whole apologists for the repression of the Russian dictatorship. They condemned them there as elsewhere. A single and uniform yardstick measured the denials of human rights, under communist, fascist or democratic governments.

Although I am presenting this book in line with impersonal principles, this exposition of my personal reaction to the communist state and to the world movement reflects, I think, the confusions and changing attitudes of many if not most of my colleagues. It may be taken as an indication that not political prejudice, but hard facts, gov-

ern our condemnation of one of the most glaring aspects of the inhuman communist police state tyranny—forced labor.

The Extent of Forced Labor

Forced labor is not a charge brought against the Russian dictatorship alone The accumulation of evidence proves the case against every communist state. While the facts concerning all of them are incomplete, and some as *yet only fragmentary, the pattern, based on the Russian* example, appears identical Even Yugoslavia, opposed politically to Russia, follows that pattern, apparently inseparable from a communist police state, even one turning westward for aid

Despite the evidence presented, some may still regard it as exaggerated or distorted in the absence of any chance for inquiry within the Iron Curtain countries themselves, and in the face of the vehement official denials that any such system exists But the proof that carries conviction to any fair-minded person rests upon published laws and decrees, upon the repeated and precise evidence of hundreds who have escaped over the borders, upon letters which get through censors, upon the exposures by former communist government officials who have taken refuge abroad, and upon oblique references to vast labor projects in the press of the communist states.

If resort to such ruthless and sweeping measures seems too extreme for a "people's democracy," it may be pointed out that they serve two very practical purposes They remove from the population disaffected elements and thus inspire fear in the rest, and they furnish a huge supply of cheap labor for projects either of "socialist reconstruction" or military preparations. What more profitable for a communist police state than to seize say, one hundred thousand peasants resisting collectivization of their lands, and discontented workers who cannot strike, as reported from Rumania, and sending them off as prisoners to work on an ambitious canal project? The cost in

human life means little; control of the population is strengthened; the infection is removed!

But some may discount even so great an evil by contending that it is no worse than the compulsions of a communist police state on its entire population. Is not everybody a virtual slave in a forced labor economy? Why distinguish between the many and the few?

To accept that reasoning is to ignore both the differences in degrees of compulsion, and more significant, the effects of segregated forced labor for political dissent on the morale of the whole population. Knowledge of the fate of those who do not follow orders spreads fear—not only personal fear but the fear of whole groups who might otherwise assert what they conceive to be their interests or rights. By coupling forced labor with a secret police, watchful over every evidence of discontent, and a censorship which permits the people to know only what the government wants them to know, a universal discipline is maintained.

Our preoccupation with forced labor in communist states may appear to ignore the same evil elsewhere. Does it not exist also in fascist, feudal and colonial countries as well? Do not other countries also have prison camps, peonage, exploitation of darker races by white masters, amounting, in effect, to a form of slavery? Are not even some countries professing democracy guilty of similar evils?

The answers are obvious: such evils exist. But in none of them is forced labor used as a means of political tyranny. In all but the communist police states, it is a deplorable and inhuman means for obtaining cheap labor either for private profit or to maintain white racial supremacy. All defenders of human rights condemn it, and since the facts are readily available it is attacked, and reforms can be and are won under pressure. But the evils do not compare with the systematic liquidation of dissent to perpetuate the tyranny of a communist dictatorship. Not even the most ruthless fascist or military dictatorships — Spain or the Latin American regimes—are guilty of such a practice to perpetuate their power.

Toward Universal Human Rights

The basic purpose in presenting this evidence is not merely to add another count in the long indictment of communist police states, but to arouse support for the achievement of a manifestly remote and yet imperative goal—the creation of universal standards of human rights. Forced labor for political control is among the major denials of those rights; and communist police states are the furthest removed from recognition and practice of these rights.

We confront, even in a world dominated by force, the beginnings of practical aspirations for a world of law. Barring the catastrophe of a world war, and assuming a prolonged struggle for the allegiance of the world's peoples between democracy and communism, we look with more confidence than present facts may seem to justify to the efforts already undertaken by the United Nations. For the first time in history the nations of the world have adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights which sets forth political, civil, economic and social liberties in terms which embody the genuine concepts of democracy in the Western tradition. Not even the communist states opposed the Declaration; they paid it the tribute of lip-service while abstaining from voting on the specious ground that it needed "more study." Thus there exists a reasonable hope that the Declaration may be ultimately accepted as a universal set of principles, slowly to be worked into international law.

We may be permitted to speculate that the world will neither always remain divided between East and West nor that communist power will triumph. Basing our speculations on the Charter of the United Nations, rather do we reckon only on the time, the effort and the methods necessary to achieve its goals of disarmament, national independence, democratic liberties and economic security.

The long, confusing and painful transition to internationalism, the building of a single world community out of the bitter conflicts of today, tax not only the relations between the communist states and the rest of the world but

between the professed democracies themselves. If agreements between similar democracies, jealous of national sovereignty, are difficult, it is obvious that reconciliation of the communist states to any international jurisdiction will be a far longer and more difficult process. But if the goals of the United Nations are to be achieved that process must be continuously explored.

It is being explored as never before in the councils of the United Nations. When it is scorned as a mere debating society, its critics ignore the fact that these debates are the necessary foundation for any possible action, and that for the first time in history, every conceivable aspect of human rights and liberties is being subjected to scrutiny. It matters little in these debates that the Communists conceal their dictatorships under the euphemism of "peoples' democracies," or abuse plain language by making it appear to mean its opposite, as with the words "liberty," "freedom," and "rights." As phrases are worked into specific agreements they come to life as meaning what in practice they should intend.

Slowly, as the United Nations tackles one after another of the great evils—slavery, colonial and racial subjection, landlordism, poverty, ignorance and forced labor—the debates move on to action. As yet, it is feeble—a resolution of condemnation by the General Assembly, a decision by the World Court—with no machinery for thorough study, exposure and the hailing of transgressors before the bar of world judgment. But it moves in that direction, though haltingly, against the resistance to interference with "matters of domestic concern."

When the more receptive nations are ready, as they are not yet ready under the tensions of cold war, to respond to the upsurge of peoples everywhere demanding redress of their grievances, the United Nations will assume the moral authority it now lacks. The pressures increase; in 1952 over 25,000 letters and petitions asserting violations of human rights were received by the United Nations from all over the world, though it has no machinery to deal with them.

The unrest, the revolutionary discontent, the demands for action cannot be suppressed. The answer to them lies in the United Nations, if the communist appeal to desperate people is to be checked. The failures of some of the Western powers to promote abroad the democracy they profess can be overcome not chiefly by them but by pressures that arise in the United Nations. The smaller nations and the newer states freed from imperialist rule have already demonstrated that. It is they who press hardest for international action by the whole world community Arab, Asian and Latin American blocs may be deplored, but in their collective determination to move toward professed goals in the face of the great powers' cautions and insincerities lies much of the potential strength of United Nations action.

It is this process of building universal standards which gives hope for a strong enough United Nations to win ultimately the cooperation even of the communist states. They could not withstand forever world judgments against them, particularly when they no longer could count on appealing with success to the world's discontented.. When all peoples everywhere can turn to the United Nations with confident hope of attention and action, they will not turn to Communism. And when Communism cannot expand, it will have to reconcile itself to the community of nations

To expose forced labor as it now exists in communist police states is to begin a part of the long task of subjecting their practices to world judgment. The United Nations has created a special committee to examine into forced labor. What can come out of such a study, in view of the certain refusal of the communist states to testify and their rejection of all charges? It may, when the facts are substantiated,

(1) expose the communist states to a resolution of condemnation by the General Assembly, with its world-wide effect in discrediting these regimes;

(2) check the appeal of Communism by portraying its evils;

(3) strengthen the efforts in behalf of human rights

by focusing attention upon one of its major and most inhuman violations;

(4) increase the influence of the United Nations among the world's discontented peoples by turning their hopes for relief to it.

In presenting the evidence contained in these pages, I voice not only the purposes and principles of the International League for the Rights of Man, but I am confident, also, of its affiliated national organizations in 18 countries. We are all united in the single purpose of promoting human rights everywhere, and in opposing dictatorship, police states and tyranny, regardless of forms of government. We tolerate no totalitarians, anti-democrats or racial bigots among us, and we speak only as private citizens of our countries, concerned solely for the triumph of those enduring principles of human freedom so clearly set forth for the first time in history in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, supported by almost all the member States of The United Nations.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

New York City
March 15, 1953

CHAPTER I

THE UNITED NATIONS STUDIES FORCED LABOR

After World War II, when tens of thousands of refugees from the Soviet Union were among the millions of the displaced peoples of central Europe, evidence began at once to accumulate about the forced labor camps. Hundreds of those who had been in them and escaped were interviewed. Their sworn statements were gathered and circulated. Committees were formed both among them and among their supporters to expose facts long withheld and only suspected. What only a few had testified to before then became a convincing mass of evidence.

Hearings were held in Europe. Newspapers took up the stories. Among the agencies which early determined to attack the evil was the American Federation of Labor, which had for years condemned the Communist police state and had rigorously fought Communists and their influence in American trade unions. As a then-consultant agency, recognized by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the AF of L moved in 1947 to bring the issue before the Council with a request for an official investigation The Council debated it, but did not act For two years it was side-tracked in its sessions under pressure of other business. The AF of L appealed to the International Labor Organization, which also debated the issue.

Formal Inquiry

It was not until March 1949 that the first action was taken to start an inquiry and even then the steps were only preliminary. It required two more years before de-

cisive action was taken by the Economic and Social Council, acting jointly with the International Labor Organization. By this time, the evidence had become overwhelming and the demand for action had mounted. The Russians, aroused by the propaganda against them, had countered by proposing at the start of the debate in 1947 an investigation by the United Nations which would have defined forced labor in a way to hit hardest the "capitalist countries" while, of course, denying access to any investigation in their own country.

Thus, two resolutions were before the Santiago, Chile meeting of the Economic and Social Council in 1951 —the Russian, designed to distract attention from the Soviet Union and its satellites, by creating a large trade union commission to examine any sort of compulsory labor, and a U.S. resolution, squarely aimed at the unique new slavery of the Communist police states. The U.S. resolution was adopted by exactly the same vote which defeated the Russian, 15 to 3. ("No" votes by the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia)

The resolution as adopted read in substance:

"Deeply moved by the documents and evidence brought to its knowledge and revealing in law and in fact the existence in the world of systems of forced labor under which a large proportion of the populations of certain states are subjected to a penitentiary regime,

"1. Decides to invite the International Labor Organization to cooperate with the Council in the earliest possible establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor of not more than five independent members . . .

A. to study the nature and extent of the problem raised by the existence in the world of systems of forced or 'corrective' labor which are employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and which are on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country, by examining the texts of laws and regulations and their application in the light of the principles referred to above, . . .

B. to report the results of its studies and progress thereon to the Council and . . . the International Labor Office. . . . "

In the course of the debate preceding its adoption, the Russians bitterly attacked the Resolution. Said the official report:

"Mr. Chernyshev noted that the documents so far submitted by the State Dept. . . contained grossly slanderous statements about the Soviet Union

Some of the information submitted by the U.S, the United Kingdom delegations and by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor was either a complete fabrication . . . or was based on a distorted interpretation of certain USSR legislative texts

"The reason for placing the subject on the agenda was clear; the idea was to launch a campaign against the Soviet Union so as to check the growing sympathy towards the country evinced by the masses of the people throughout the world, and to make them forget the increasingly serious economic difficulties of the capitalist world.

"His country had shown that in countries where there was capitalist ownership of the means of production . . . there was forced labor. The example of the greatest capitalist country in the world, the USA, illustrated the complete dependence of the workers on the capitalists . . . in which the work of a theoretically free worker actually became the forced labor of a galley slave

"In the Soviet Union the means of production belong to the people . . . and the exploitation of man is unknown there . . . "

Explaining his opposition to the creation of "a small committee composed of so-called independent individuals," the Soviet delegate asserted it would be "an instrument of propaganda and slander against the USSR" The debate followed the established pattern of Soviet oratory in the U. N., all is right in the Soviet world, all is wrong in the capitalist world. But 15 countries were convinced that a new and special form of forced labor had come into existence in the communist states, deserving of United Nations concern, as a violation by governments themselves of the human rights principles of the U. N. Charter. Other forms of forced labor were known and admitted; but they were not to be compared in extent, character or effects with the communist weapon of political tyranny.

Indeed, the United Nations had already undertaken a world-wide inquiry into these other forms of forced labor through another *ad hoc* committee on "Slavery and Servitude." That committee which had held hearings in 1950 and 1951, and had collected a mass of evidence, had thoroughly explored such charges as the Soviet Union had made It had heard testimony affecting feudal countries, colonial peoples and even peonage in the United States and elsewhere. No charge could be fairly brought against the United Nations for ignoring any aspect of the denial of human rights by compulsory labor of any sort. But it was evident from the mounting reports from refugees of the

Iron Curtain countries that a wholly special phenomenon had been opened up by communist state practices which could not be covered by the terms under which the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Slavery operated. It had heard some evidence concerning forced labor in the Iron Curtain states, enough to indicate the need for an inquiry, separated from its major effort, which was directed to the survivals of slavery and forms of involuntary servitude not based in any way on political opposition to the government.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor

A distinguished committee of three was promptly appointed to undertake the task jointly assumed by the Council and the International Labor Organization. It was headed by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Indian statesman, long a leading United Nations figure, and the first president of the Economic and Social Council. The other members were Paul Berg, the former chief justice of Norway and the former chairman of the governing body of the International Labor Office; and Felix Fulgencio Palavicini of Mexico, a former minister and ambassador and one of the framers of the 1917 Mexican constitution. Mr. Palavicini died during the course of the inquiry and was replaced by E Garcia-Sayan of Peru, a former minister of foreign affairs and a former member of the United Nations staff.

The committee set to work at once to hear evidence, to examine documents, and to query governments as to forced labor in their countries which might come within the terms of the resolution. Three separate sessions were held, two in Geneva, and one in New York, with a fourth and final session in 1953 to wind up the job and frame a report to the U N. and the I.L.O.

Though the Committee's meetings, with few exceptions, have not been open to the public or the press, largely to protect the identity of certain witnesses against whom there might be reprisals, summaries of the testimony have been issued after each meeting. Scores of organizations submitted evidence not only about Iron Curtain countries, but

colonial and feudal lands Escaped forced laborers testified. Affidavits, texts of laws and regulations, maps of forced labor camps, estimates of numbers, descriptions of the inhumanities of the system—all these have added up to an impressive indictment.

In the examination of witnesses, the committee followed a line of questioning intended to get answers to cover the same points in each country whether or not under communist rule, to determine just where the system exists. Among the questions concerning the communist states was one propounded by Sir Ramaswami which reflects the widespread amazement that States which profess they are both humane and secure should adopt such vast and barbarous systems of control. Says the U.N. summary of a meeting of June 10, 1952, quoting the chairman indirectly (as U N. documents do).

"On the face of it, it appears strange that a government should wish to punish hundreds of thousands of its own citizens by subjecting them to the inhuman conditions alleged to exist in forced labor camps. Assuming that a witness replied that the huge numbers of internees in the camps were charged with subverting the regime or with outright treason, it was still difficult to conceive that traitors could number in the millions. In the USSR, for example, the principal target of the charges, the so-called bourgeois elements had presumably been wiped out . . . and the entire population consisted of workers. Accordingly it should be feasible to get the necessary work done on a voluntary basis.

"It would perhaps be argued that a reign of terror had been imposed . . . in order to insure the authority of a most unpopular regime . . . . The Committee's objective should be to bring out the ideological reasons for actions which appeared *prima facie* to be somewhat irrational."

The witnesses came from every East European satellite of Russia, from Yugoslavia, from the former Baltic states and from the Soviet Union, of course. One hearing was devoted to evidence from Eastern Germany. Commu-

nist China did not figure in the inquiry. No refugees have yet escaped from Communist China to be available for testimony at the U.N. Witnesses also testified to slave labor in African colonies, alleged forced labor camps in Spain and Greece—and one to peonage in the United States.

The organizations which presented evidence ranged from those of the exiles and refugees from Iron Curtain countries to the general world-wide agencies concerned with the conditions of labor or the democratic struggle against communist dictatorship. Among them were the International Confederation of Labor, the International League for the Rights of Man (presenting its material through the private American Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor formed in 1947, and the Mid-European Studies Center), the Anti-Slavery Society of London, the International Federation of Free Journalists (refugees from Iron Curtain countries) and the similarly-organized Committee of Free Jurists. Nationality agencies of refugees from all the East European countries either sent witnesses or documents.

The Attitude of the Communist States

Despite the precise terms of the Committee's inquiry, the apologists for the Communist states did not remain silent. They, too, submitted charges, but against practices in colonial countries, Latin-American and the Western states —all of course outside the terms of the council resolution. Some of the communist states answered the queries about the committee's work, but only to damn the investigation. Said the representative of Poland, *after referring to the* refusal of the Economic and Social Council to accept the Soviet proposal for a broad inquiry by a large trade union commission:

"These facts prove beyond any doubt that the majority of the Council, under the guidance of the delegation of the USA, is not interested in the objective and impartial study of the question of forced labor, but on the contrary tries to incite a campaign grossly libelous and defamatory

against the Soviet Union and the countries of the 'People's Democracy'."

Two Communist states answered the Committee's questionnaire, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The representative of Czechoslovakia said:

"The Government of Czechoslovakia is of the opinion that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor has been established for the purpose of spreading slander against Czechoslovakia and other countries which abolished exploitation of man by man and where work became really free. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, its composition, its arbitrary determination of the terms of reference and the questionnaire itself are an obvious proof of the fact that the object of this entire action is to interfere into the internal affairs of other countries thus constituting a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

"Therefore the Government of Czechoslovakia rejects this questionnaire as illegal. It aims at the spreading of slander and interference into internal affairs of other countries and is contrary to the obligation of the Member States of the United Nations the purpose of which is to develop friendly relations among nations."

The Yugoslav reply, detailed and frank, indicates clearly a system of forced labor for political offenders, but couches its justification in language regretting its necessity. Says the Yugoslav government:

"The laws of the Republic on offenses against public order and peace provide for protective measures in the form of confinement in a determined place, for the purpose of re-education, for a period of six months to two years, against those menacing in less dangerous ways the territorial integrity and independence of the State; those involved in hostile activities against the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia; those associating against the people and the State or spreading hostile propaganda, in order to prevent their detrimental influence upon other persons. In such places these persons are re-educated through free discussions, regular reading of newspapers and other publica-

tions, through correct explanation of political events and other educational measures, among which the assignment to work for the purpose of re-education may also be applied (Art. 5, Law on Transgressions).

"It should, however, be stressed that this protective measure of a temporary character was called forth by the aggressive acts of the *Kominform* countries against the freedom and independence of our country and by their attempts to recruit individuals in our country for the perpetration of enemy propaganda, so that actually the abovementioned security measure is dictated by the international situation and applied in the interest of preserving peace in the world."

That forced labor may be imposed without trial in a court is evident from the following propaganda of the Yugoslav reply to the Committee:

"In the event that, in the course of penal procedure for the following offenses: endangering the territorial integrity and independence of the State, participating in hostile activities against the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, association against the people and the State or hostile propaganda, the investigating authorities find that the act committed does not possess all the features of a criminal offense but that it is such as to make it necessary to apply educational measures against the defendant and to prevent his detrimental influence on other persons, the file shall be transmitted to the Council for Offenses with the Ministry of the Interior, which may take against such persons the protective measure of confinement in a determined place for a period of six months to two years."

The Replies of Member Nations

All of the 47 countries replying to the Committee's questionnaire denied the existence of forced labor in the sense of the Council's resolution. 34 did not reply. Questionnaires had been sent to all countries whether or not members of the United Nations. Each had been asked whether persons convicted of a political offense can be

forced to perform certain labor; whether those not charged with any offense may be detained or subjected to "educational or reformatory labor"; the number subjected to such forced labor; what forms of obligatory labor service exist under government control; restrictions on movements of labor.

The questionnaire, it will be noted, was broader than the precise terms of the resolution, evidently because the Committee desired to interpret its mandate broadly rather than to define it closely. Some replies affirmed an element of forced labor under these broad terms, but none described a system aimed at political opposition and constituting an "important element in the economy"

Some countries went to great lengths to describe in detail their practices with regard to the labor of convicted criminals under ordinary criminal law not associated with political offenses, thus revealing a meticulous sense of responsibility to the United Nations for answering a questionnaire open to such interpretation, but quite aside from its basic premise.

Each government against which any charge of forced labor appears in the testimony gets a report of it for the purpose of comment, which will be published, or failure to reply noted. That goes further than the usual United Nations procedure with complaints against governments for violation of human rights—which are commonly forwarded merely for information—and the waste basket!

The *Ad Hoc* Committee has considered further on-the-spot investigations where countries charged with these practices may permit them. None has yet indicated any willingness, although the reply from Yugoslavia, in the light of charges made, might open the way for such a first-hand inquiry It alone of all the communist states has shown what might be characterized as a cooperative attitude.

Any fair-minded reader of the Committee's daily summaries of its meetings, with the temperate and judicial remarks of its members, is obliged to conclude that the in-

quiry is as honest as it is painstaking. It could be charged by critics as being no more biased than the resolution which created it—and that "bias" is nothing more than the legitimate expression of concern throughout the non-communist world for the plight of the incredible numbers of human beings whose lives are being sacrificed to the unprecedented tyranny of the communist police states.

CHAPTER II

A NEW POLITICAL WEAPON

Its Soviet Origins and Growth

Forced labor in varied forms has been an evil throughout world history. Chattel slavery, serfdom and other ancient forms of human exploitation were gradually curtailed until finally, in the twentieth century, it appeared that the historic forms of slavery had at last been almost abolished throughout the world.

But a new form of slavery, under a political system which proclaims itself the emancipator of humanity, marks the regimes under which one-third of the world's peoples live. This new form of an ancient evil was developed in the Soviet Union, and is now an integral part of police state Communism in every country governed by a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Political Basis of Forced Labor

Forced labor as an element of a communist regime was not emphasized in the conceptions of either Marx or Lenin. Prisons and prisoners—in fact, the whole machinery of punishment—were expected ultimately to disappear in a communist state. Directly after the Russian Revolution, the early communist leaders denounced even the *labor of prisoners as human slavery, and prophesied that* in the "glorious Soviet era to come," there would be virtually no crime, no criminals and no "golden sweat" to be exploited from convict labor.

But the early idealism soon gave way to the more "practical" measures necessary to the security of the dictatorship. From the beginning, the Soviet dictatorship nec-

essarily was composed of a small minority, and to maintain power, was forced to increase the severity of police measures for the control of dissenting and uncooperative elements within the Russian population. Death was re-introduced as a penalty for political opposition, and the Cheka (later, GPU) soon became as notorious as the Czarist secret political police—the Okhrana—on which it was modeled. The concentration camps, which had been instituted during the civil war for the detention of prisoners, were expanded to incarcerate new thousands of political opponents, and the established prisons were filled to over-flowing with political prisoners.

In the mid-nineteen twenties, there was a rising crime wave in the new Soviet state. State employees and officials had discovered the possibilities of bribery and embezzlement even under communism; while robberies, murders and other forms of "capitalist" crime did not diminish (*Statistical Yearbook of the USSR,* 1927-1928.) The GPU organization grew as a state instrument for the suppression not only of common criminals but of those suspected of political opposition. Special political prisons and concentration camps, such as those in the Solovetski islands near Archangel, were filled with those considered to be the most dangerous to the regime.

Forced labor was employed as a regular routine in all Russian camps and prisons—but the early communist theory of "corrective" and "educational" labor for political opponents later was extended to employ forced labor to implement economic projects. As political prisoners were enemies of the state, and "correction" or "education" of doubtful value, no consideration was accorded them on humanitarian grounds, which were increasingly derided as "bourgeois sentimentality."

A large and growing convict population and a well-organized, omnipotent and expanding police organization marked the general picture by 1928. That year marked also the introduction of the first Five Year Plan and the beginning of the "Second Revolution," in some respects more

drastic in its impact upon the Russian people than the first. Agriculture was to be collectivized, and the government at once embarked upon an ambitious program of industrialization based upon heavy industry.

As the foreign credit of communist Russia was nonexistent in the capitalist countries, the large investment necessary for this program had to be found in the labor of the people for the benefit of the state. The repressive forces of the government were by then large and efficient enough to keep the living standards of the workers and peasants just above subsistence level, without fear of mass discontent turning to counter-revolution. This allowed the government to push forward the program without wasting labor and production on consumer goods.

But peasant resistance to the collectivization program had been underestimated An important percentage of Russian livestock was slaughtered by peasant owners rather than surrendered to state-controlled collectives, and many peasants sowed only enough land to provide for their immediate needs. Although peasant resistance was unorganized, it was so wide-spread that the government was forced to use Red Army troops to suppress it. Mass deportations of whole villages, executions and ruthless force were the methods employed by the communist apparatus, led by the GPU, to subdue the peasantry and enforce collectivization.

The measure to punish peasant rebellion through mass arrests and deportations coincided with the growing requirements of the state for the almost unlimited manpower demanded by the Five Year Plan. History is unlikely to record whether this had been completely foreseen and planned by the communist hierarchy, but it had at any rate at its disposal, from that time on, a reservoir of manual labor *in increasing volume from the politically uncooperative* segments of the Russian population The seeds of forced labor, planted in Czarist Russia's exile system, unwillingly cultivated in the revolutionary era of the early twenties, now sprouted vigorously in the hot-house atmosphere of the "Second Revolution" under the green thumb of the GPU.

The near-famine of the 30's, the effects of which were felt in Russia for at least three years, was a direct result of the forced collectivization which had been backed by the newly all-powerful Stalin. In his famous article, "Dizzy with Success," (*Pravda, No.* 60, *March* 2, 1930) a somewhat softer peasant policy was indicated, though the tragedy was characterized as a tremendous success. "Mistakes" were attributed to over-enthusiasm on the part of party functionaries.

The near-famine and dislocation of Russian agriculture was, however, made to serve communist purposes. Blaming the "kulaks," and stepping up both the propaganda and "liquidation" programs against them as a class, enabled the regime to hold them as a forced labor reservoir to be drawn on as needed. A few years later, they had been liquidated — removed from circulation — thus eliminating the agricultural class most opposed to communist agrarian policy while, at the same time, having made available some millions of laborers for industrialization.

The most extensive use of forced labor on a purely profit-making basis was to be found in this period in the timber industry. In addition to providing material for domestic construction, this branch of the Soviet economy provided foreign exchange. Industrial equipment had to be imported for the industrialization program, and Russian timber export found a market to pay for it in England and Germany. The established labor camps had been located largely in the Russian north, a primary source of Russian timber. Low wages and miserable living conditions precluded extensive voluntary enlistment in this work; forced labor camps and increased prison populations assigned to them filled the breach. To augment this force, exiled peasants—produced to order on charges of opposing collectivization—were deported to the northern timber area. The Solovki labor camps near Archangel were expanded to provide workers for fisheries and agriculture, apparently in an attempt to make northern forced labor self-sufficient.

First Protests from the West

It was at this time and on these camps that the first serious foreign exposures and protests were focused. (*See the press of the period, i.e. the report of the Stockholm Tidningen, April, 1930; the French "Revue Hebdomadaire" article by Senator Eccard; and the statement of the British Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons, July, 1930*). Although escape was exceedingly difficult, many attempts were made, and among the large numbers of prisoners a few made their way out. Since forced labor was also employed in the port of Archangel, returning western seamen had a chance to observe and to spread reports of what they had seen and heard. Thus enough evidence developed to create a stir in the western world. 1930 witnessed the first western inquiries, instituted by organizations devoted to human rights, such as the Anti-Slavery Society in England and the American Wage Earners' Conference. Both of these organizations, moved solely by humanitarian considerations, concluded that compulsory labor was being employed in the Soviet Union, contrary to official Soviet denials.

However, the veracity of the slave camp escapees was widely questioned Many honest liberals could not believe that such inhuman conditions existed in a workers' socialist state, and the stories were discounted as capitalist-inspired propaganda. Furthermore, then as now, it was difficult if not impossible for western observers to investigate freely in the Soviet Union. Economic and political motives further complicated western opinion, as some commercial interests in the West, although anti-communist, were involved in Soviet trade. Nevertheless, many authoritative and respected voices were raised, demanding a ban on Soviet products which, it was charged, were the fruits of slave labor and human misery.

The campaign to curb communist forced labor through economic measures was not successful in those countries importing the largest volume of Russian products. But the United States provided an example of what could be done.

Largely through the marshalling of public opinion by democratic forces and a spokesman like Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, the United States Treasury Department placed an embargo on Soviet matches and pulpwood under the Tariff Act of 1930 which prescribed that all goods ". . . mined, produced, or manufactured by . . . forced labor . . . shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States . . . Forced labor . . . shall mean work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its non-performance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily." Canadian anti-Soviet pressure against lumber import was also strong, and in England, Winston Churchill was almost successful in placing a British ban on Soviet products.

The Soviet government was thus forced to take measures to soothe world public opinion and insure the continuation of Soviet exports so vital for foreign exchange. The newly-appointed Premier of the Soviet Union, V. M. Molotov, made a detailed statement on Soviet labor camps in a speech on March 8, 1931, in which he painted an idyllic picture of good food, eight-hour working days and cultural outlets for prisoners. He admitted that the labor of those "deprived of liberty" was used in a variety of industrial and construction projects, but insisted that it was of a purely "educational" and "corrective" nature and that the prisoners were even paid for their work. This speech was notable for his own description of the extensive use of forced labor, yet it contained an invitation to foreign experts to see conditions for themselves.

His statement was given wide Western circulation and did much to stem the rising tide of foreign indignation. As for any actual foreign investigation of Soviet camps, the invitation proved more valuable for propaganda than for results. Some foreign delegates, carefully screened and more carefully "guided," were taken on excursions to Potemkin-like camp-sites which had been prepared before the Molotov offer. But any real investigations, with freedom for observers, were prevented.

Communist sympathizers abroad signed prepared statements that forced labor in the Soviet Union had been falsely pictured in the foreign press and that conditions were not as painted. One notable exception was a detailed report in a book published by the *British-Russian Gazette*. This publication contained otherwise consistently pro-Soviet material, but the report by a British consulting forest engineer, J. F. Stuart, was included apparently through an editorial lapse. He reported that "conditions are appalling in the lumber camps; food is scarce; thousands are dying from hunger, hard work, and exposure." He had been allowed to travel extensively through the timber areas in connection with his work for British lumber concerns prior to the Molotov invitation. He flatly stated that, to his knowledge, "no outsider has been permitted into these camps except myself." (*See Forced Labor in Soviet Russia by Dallin and Nicolaevsky, Yale University Press*, 1947, *pp* 217-230)

The furor gradually subsided. Soviet international trade was largely unaffected, and Soviet forced labor not only continued, but expanded. In the thirties, the energies of democratic countries were focused on the world economic crisis and the rising menace of Hitler Germany. Soviet security measures dealing with forced labor were tightened; escapes became rarer; and the outside world remained largely ignorant of the growth of forced labor as an essential factor in Soviet economy.

Forced Labor—An Integral Part of Communism

Forced labor, though based largely on economic motives, has, from its beginning in the Soviet system, been employed as a political weapon. In fact it so originated. Those condemned to it have been drawn preponderantly from elements considered either hostile or uncooperative. As the system grew from modest beginnings, it reached out until it covered not only opponents and suspects, but larger numbers considered likely to bcome hostile to the regime. Evidence of this development appears both in the Soviet

legal code and in Soviet practice over thirty years. The major populations of the camps appear to consist of those labelled "kulaks" and "bourgeois," innocent of any crime but lack of cooperation with government policies, and therefore of potential opposition. Political offenders, under broad concepts of offenses, constitute another major segment of camp populations even though administratively condemned by the secret police for political "crimes" which carry no penalties in non-communist countries.

Forced labor is used by the Soviet Union for both political and economic purposes. Although political motives of control are always present, the emphasis apparently shifted to the economic as political opposition was crushed, and as the demand for cheap manpower on ambitious projects increased. Wholesale condemnations to forced labor followed the Kirov assassination in 1934, and further mass purges followed the "trials" of the Old Bolsheviks in the later 1930's—political excuses for rounding up forced labor. The vast majority of those then sent to the camps would appear to be ideologically untainted and technically innocent of any act, even by Soviet legal and moral concepts. Stalin's inner circle seems to have been aware that in fact no sizeable organized opposition then threatened the regime. But the mass purges of that period were made to serve both the purpose of eliminating even potential opponents and of recruiting fresh forces for the camps.

Expansion Outside Russia

The Russo-German pact and the outbreak of World War II marked the expansion of Soviet forced labor beyond Russian borders. Eastern Poland, the three Baltic countries of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and what had been Rumanian Bessarabia were the first non-Russian countries to feel the fetters of the new slavery. Deportation to forced labor was used as a political weapon with devastating effect. Not only were active opponents of Russian domination in these countries affected, but large elements of

their populations considered potential sources of opposition were deported wholesale to forced labor camps in the Soviet Union. Uncounted thousands were thus condemned to hopeless lives of virtual slavery. Many were doubtless summarily turned into corpses. The 10,000 Polish officers whose bodies were exhumed in the Katyn forest, victims of wholesale slaughter, as pretty conclusively established by searching inquiries, were far from being the only examples of Soviet "security" measures.

That the application of forced labor was based on Soviet political motives in these countries cannot be doubted. The thousands of sentences to forced labor were obviously part of a calculated Soviet plan to crush political opposition in newly subject territory Indisputable documentary proof has been unearthed which convicts the Soviet Union on this count.

Although precise statistics are unavailable, Polish authorities estimate, on the basis of such evidence as they could get, that more than one million persons were deported from Eastern Poland by the NKVD (formerly, GPU) between 1939 and 1941 At that time, Soviet authorities could not foresee that they would later have to set free the survivors of this forced migration. But when the short-lived Nazi-Communist honeymoon ended and Russia, invaded by the German Wehrmacht, desperately needed manpower, she was forced to release the Polish citizens from the camps to fight the Germans.

Despite their deportation and confinement, the Poles fought valiantly against the Nazis and, as a part of the Polish army under General Anders, contributed to the eventual Allied victory. But after the war, when thousands of Polish witness accounts of forced labor were collected, the outside world began to get a true picture of the enormity of the forced labor system. The evidence of the released Poles is overwhelmingly documented. Presented to the United Nations, it paints a depressing picture of the Russian system, far too voluminous and too well authenticated to be doubted.

The fate of the three little Baltic countries was perhaps even more tragic, for they are the only non-Russian countries incorporated wholly into the Soviet Union. Shortly after their countries were swallowed up in August, 1940 over 100,000 of their inhabitants were deported into the silences of their new "fatherland," where they exchanged their political democracy for the tyranny of the labor camps Detailed NKVD plans for the mass deportations from Lithuania to forced labor camps in the Soviet Union in 1941 and a subsequent NKVD report came into Partisan possession during the war. These documents have been submitted to the United Nations.

They order the NKVD agents to prepare lists of those subject to deportation, ranging from "theosophers" and "free-masons" to "Jewish-militarized Fascist formations." Included in the "socially dangerous" category are "shopkeepers, hotel and restaurant owners." A complete outline of suggested NKVD operating procedure is included. The deportations took place as planned, and according to the operational report, the thousands of deportees were shipped by train to begin their new Soviet citizenship behind barbed wire.

Within the Soviet Union itself during the war, entire "disloyal" ethnic groups were uprooted and deported. The Volga Germans, an ethnic minority of some 600,000, settled in Russia for generations, were dispersed throughout the country, as were the Chechens and Ingush and the Tatars and Kilmyks. While not all those deported were sentenced to forced labor, the conditions with which the deportees had to contend in remote sections of the Soviet Union, under control and administration of the NKVD, made their fate almost as hard as that of their compatriots actually sentenced to the camps. Some two and a half million people had lived in four "autonomous republics," which were summarily abolished or reorganized. (*Large Soviet Encyclopedia, Herald of the Supreme Court, Sept. 2, Sept.* 21, 1941; *Trud, June 26, 1946*)

As the German armies retreated, slave labor advanced

with the Red Army. Thousands of Soviet citizens who had been held by the Nazis were welcomed to the Russian bosom with sentences to forced labor as "traitors." Russian prisoners of war, freed in Germany and Nazi-occupied countries by American, British and other Western troops, were repatriated often against their will, as required by the terms of the Yalta agreement.

At the Brussels hearings of the International Commission against Concentration Camps held in May, 1951, a former Soviet army colonel, Vasili Yershov, testified as to his personal knowledge of the following: Assigned to duty at a Soviet repatriation camp, his orders had been to provide rail transportation for 180,000 to 190,000 repatriates. 75 to 85 percent of the repatriates had been sentenced to concentration camps. Their crime was twofold. In being taken prisoners, a reflection had been cast upon their courage; and, more important, they were dangerous witnesses of the superior living conditions under western capitalism who would contradict, if free, official propaganda on the superiority of the Socialist State.

The Soviet Union continues to hold large numbers of German and Japanese war prisoners, in addition to thousands of Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian and others, employing them as slave laborers eight years after the end of hostilities, in flagrant violation of international law. Protests by the prisoners' governments to the Soviet Union have been met by denials that the prisoners exist, even when names of missing thousands are listed, known to have been alive at the war's end The comparative few who have been released or who have escaped have testified to the fate of others still living. Despite Soviet attempts to justify holding those they admit having by describing them as "war criminals," many are reported not to be in prisons, as would be expected, but as working in the "corrective labor camps." The Department for War Prisoners' Relief of the Social Democratic Party of Germany drew up a long list of these Soviet camps where German prisoners are held at forced labor.

While this information, like all the rest, is pieced together from reports of those who escape, backed by the limited admissions of the Soviet government itself, it adds up to a convincing mass of evidence of the extent and character of the system and the motives which have prompted its growth. More precise evidence of the legal basis for forced labor, with a summary of the actual practices under it, drawn from a study of documents and personal stories, is covered in the next chapter. The system in the Soviet Union is given more extended treatment than in other communist states because more is known over a longer period of time, as the material presented to the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee demonstrates.

CHAPTER III

SOVIET RUSSIA

Forced Labor in Law and Practice

The Legal Basis

Forced labor in Soviet terminology is referred to as "corrective" labor The corrective labor policy of the Soviet Union is concisely stated in Volume 29 of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia, page 598.

"CORRECTIVE LABOR POLICY, a branch of the criminal law policy of the proletariat which consists in effecting punishment combined with corrective labor measures, i.e., corrective labor with deprivation of freedom, exile combined with corrective labor, deprivation of freedom. Corrective labor policy has the aims of (a) placing criminals in conditions where they are deprived of the possibility of committing acts which inflict harm on Socialist construction; (b) re-education of criminals and their adaptation to the conditions of the laboring community. These aims of corrective labor policy derive directly from the proletariat's policy of criminal law in the transition period from capitalism to communism, a task which consists of the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Socialist construction being carried out by it against encroachments of class-hostile elements and infringements on the part of both declasse elements and unstable elements from the workers . . . ."

As this quotation makes clear, the use of "criminals" in the construction plans of the Soviet Union is an official government policy. As to what constitutes a crime under Soviet law for which a person can be committed to a forced labor camp, Article 58 of the Criminal Codex reads:

"Any act designed to overthrow, undermine or weaken the authority of the workers' and peasants' Soviets and the workers' and peasants' governments of the USSR of the Union and Autonomous Republics . . . ., or designed to undermine or weaken the external security of the USSR and of the basic economic, political, and national achievements of the proletarian revolution, is deemed to be a counter-revolutionary act."

Article 58 then goes on to define a series of "counter-revolutionary" offenses such as ". . . . flight abroad by land or air are punishable by death by shooting—in extenuating circumstances by deprivation of liberty for a period of ten years." In the event that the would-be escapee is a member of the armed forces, "the adult members of his family, ... even if they knew of the preparation or the commission of this act of treason but failed to report it to the authorities, are to be punished: by deprivation of liberty for a period of from five to ten years and confiscation of all property. The remaining adult members of the traitor's family, and those living with him or dependent on him at the time of the commission of crime are liable to deprivation of their rights and to exile to the remote areas of Siberia for a period of five years."

It is interesting to note that being related to a member of the Soviet armed forces who escapes the country even in peace-time (this law was adopted in 1934), constitutes a "counter-revolutionary crime."

Other crimes include aid to the international bourgeoisie and anti-communist propaganda, vaguely defined so that in effect almost anyone can be accused.

It is not necessary to commit one of the "crimes" defined in the Criminal Codex for the Soviet citizen to find himself in a forced labor camp. For according to a decree included in the Collection of Laws of the Government of the USSR, the "People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs has the right to apply the following measures against people regarded as socially dangerous: (a) Exile for a period of up to five years . . . . (b) Expulsion for a

period of up to five years . . . . (c) Confinement in corrective labor camps for a period of up to five years . . . ." Exile and expulsion in Soviet legal terminology do not mean *exile or expulsion from the country itself. They simply* mean forced deportation and resettlement in other parts of the country. This method provides extensive manpower at low cost.

By branding the exiles as criminals, it becomes unnecessary to be concerned for their living and working conditions in bleak wildernesses amid the harshest climatic conditions. This system of mass deportations was developed as a corollary to the forced labor system in the established slave-camps and was perfected in the same period, the early 1930's, during the first Five Year Plan and the collectivization of agriculture.

The difference in the situation of those persons sentenced to forced labor in the camps themselves by Soviet legal procedure and those who arrive by an administrative process is largely theoretical. Slave labor is provided through either channel, and its duration and condition of servitude is in practice essentially the same, as persons from both categories serve in the same camps.

The difference from a legal standpoint is primarily the length of sentence. Those sentenced to forced labor through "administrative proceedings" (i.e. police action) are limited by regulation to a term of five years. This measure can be applied to persons after a decision made by the NKVD, with no rights of the accused to a defense or legal trial. The decision can be taken without the person charged even being present Any person considered "socially dangerous" can thus be packed off to a forced labor camp for a five year term without a defense, legal counsel, presentation of evidence or trial. (*U.S.S R. Laws*, 1934, *36*: 283; *U.S.S.R. Laws*, 1935, 11: 84)

While under these laws confinement in forced labor camps is limited to five years, in practice the NKVD can, and most often does, retain prisoners indefinitely beyond this period by the simple expedient of adding a further five

year term, and if it is desired, indefinite extensions. Thus it is perfectly "legal" and it would appear fairly common for prisoners to spend 10, 15 or more years in forced labor camps without ever having been allowed to defend themselves, and without ever having been legally tried.

For those *convicted of specific crimes, after trials in* Soviet courts, sentences range up to 25 years of "deprivation of freedom" for serious political offenses such as "espionage," "wrecking" and "diversionary activities."

The Political Police

The NKVD is the government agency charged with and in complete control of forced labor and forced labor camps, as well as deportations, exiles and the maintenance of the internal security of the country. GULAG, officially the "Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps, Prisons, Labor, and Special Settlements of the NKVD" is that branch of the NKVD concerned with forced labor. With the growth of the economic importance of forced labor in Soviet Russia has come a corresponding increase in the GULAG organization and its bureaucracy, as well as in the security personnel.

This political police agency has always been charged with responsibility for imprisonment and forced labor as well as with other repressive measures to maintain control of the population NKVD holds a special position, outranking the regular police, the "militia," and other law enforcement agencies, and is not bound by court procedures. The titles of this organization have changed, but the functions have remained basically the same since the earliest period of Bolshevik rule. Originally entitled the Cheka, Soviet authorities trace the continuity through the OGPU, the NKVD to the MGB-MVD, and laud the "efficiency of the repression through a quarter of a century." *(Istoriya Sovetskoyo Ugolovnogo Prava, (History of Soviet Criminal Law), Moscow,* 1948, *pp.* 98-99)

Forced Labor in the Soviet Economy

Forced labor's role in the Soviet economy has achieved such stature that for the past fifteen years it has been a fundamental factor in Soviet economic plans and their achievement. The Iron Curtain of secrecy descended on Soviet forced labor in the thirties, and since that time, its importance has been one of the most zealously guarded secrets of an always secretive regime. Despite this secrecy, it has been impossible for even Soviet Russia to keep millions of labor slaves and their use a secret.

The most detailed picture of the economic importance of forced labor in Soviet economic plans comes from a secret 750-page Russian statistical document. This is the official "State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1941 (not to be published)" and a connected supplementary document. It fell into German hands during the war, and later came into the possession of the British. Its authenticity cannot be questioned, nor has it been denied by Soviet authorities, even after presentation to the United Nations.

Encompassing precise figures on the budget for that year for industrial production and capital construction, it includes projects assigned to the NKVD. Production quotas to be filled by slave labor show to what extent the Russian economy rests upon it. Some of the figures are: 5,325,000 metric tons of coal; 34,730,000 cubic meters of commercial timber and firewood (11.9% of total USSR production); 14.49% of the total furniture; 14,700,000 pairs of leather shoes; 22.58% of the total railroad cross-ties; and 40.5% of the total planned output of chrome ore. Large percentages of the road building and the bulk of railroad construction through the isolated regions of East Siberia, and the mining regions of the Far North have been entrusted to Gushosdor and Glavzheldorstroi, two special NKVD administrative departments utilizing slave labor.

The Gold Mines

Omitted from the 1941 statistical report is an account

of gold production, now centered in the Kolyma region in the extreme northeast of Siberia, which has become a separate industrial empire within the Soviet Union, almost entirely opened up, controlled and operated by forced labor under almost incredible conditions of human hardship. In 1932, a special administrative organ, under the name of Dalstroy was set up within the police organization specifically for the development of the region. Inland camps were established in regions where the temperature in the winter often goes to 60 degrees below zero.

Here is to be found a concentration of forced labor unparallelled in Russian, communist and world history. The entire region is under the control of Dalstroy, and even the constitution of the Soviet Union does not apply here. A "commandant" with full authority over the territory under his control is appointed for every inhabited place in the vast territory, and under the special Dalstroy rules, this commandant has the right of inflicting the death penalty on prisoners. According to the census of 1926-27 the population of the Kolyma region was less than 8,000. Today the forced labor population alone is estimated at between one and one-half to two million. The basic industry is gold mining, and despite the fact that the Kolyma gold mines have increased Soviet output by 400 to 600 percent, the Soviet government no longer even alludes to the fact that the gold is mined in the region

Although there are other mineral products in the region which also employ forced labor, such as the lead mines on the Chukotsk Peninsula, the original rationale for Dalstroy and the huge capital investment in machinery and human life is to be found in gold. Rich platinum deposits are also to be found here, and since it is believed that platinum is utilized in connection with Soviet atomic projects it is possible that this production has been greatly stepped up, coincident with Russia's military atomic program. [*An invaluable source of information on forced labor in this area is to be found in Dallin and Nicolaevsky's extremely valuable and scholarly book Forced Labor in Soviet Russia,*

Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947, *Chapter VI, pp.* 108-146.]

"Moscow gold," once almost non-existent, has today become a reality. It has been estimated that as much as ten billion dollars of gold bullion are on hand in Soviet treasuries. The Soviet Union is the second largest gold producer in the world, and at least three-fourths of this production appears to be the exclusive product of forced labor.

Making Slave Labor Productive

Soviet forced labor is a system unique in modern times in that it has been made a tool of political repression on an enormous scale and at the same time has been made to show a profit to the regime. Modern economic theory, including that expounded by Marx and Engels, had held that slavery, aside from its moral and anti-human aspects, is economically wasteful and that slave labor cannot compete with free labor from the viewpoint of efficiency. The slave lacks incentive and as his labor must be largely limited to manual tasks, the member of a mechanized, technologically advanced working class is infinitely more profitable to the state. But Stalinist practice, contrary to Marxist theory, indicates that given certain conditions, scientifically exploited slavery can be made to pay.

That slave labor is largely limited to manual work is no disadvantage in the Soviet economy, where there is a constant demand for heavy manual labor inherent in the construction entailed in the fulfillment of communist economic plans The principle for the employment of forced labor was officially laid down in 1934: "The following should be chosen as objects of mass labor best fitted for the realization of the purposes of corrective labor: large scale industrial construction (factories, dams, dikes, blast-furnaces, railroad, etc.), . . . ; irrigation work; highway construction." (*Sovetskaya yustitsya, No.* 15) A Commissariat of Justice commission that investigated the forced labor program was pleased to report in 1933 that; "class alien elements are sent exclusively to hard labor tasks."

Discounting the human and social considerations, the main disadvantage of slave or forced labor has been the inefficiency and low production value of the individual worker. Utilizing all the measures of force employed in previous variations of slavery, plus the addition of a purely Soviet innovation, the communist variety has largely overcome this disadvantage. If there is one basic innovation in the field of utmost exploitation, it is the Soviet application of hunger as the primary goad. The system of "work norms" and the speed-up system introduced throughout Soviet labor under the title of Stakhanovitism has a new and terrible application in the labor camps. The prisoners are assigned norms calculated to be the maximum amount of daily work a healthy, well fed man or woman can accomplish, and if they fail to accomplish these norms, they are deprived of the full ration of food.

The maximum forced labor camp diet for prisoners who accomplish or exceed their work norms is not sufficient to maintain physical endurance at a level needed for the work demanded. Basic camp diet is barely enough to keep body and soul together. Camp feeding regulations are deliberately designed to force the inmates to the limits of their endurance in order to receive the food necessary for life itself. Hunger is a constant companion of the forced laborer. Thousands of witnesses uniformly have attested to the inadequacy of food, both in quantity and quality, in all camps from the sub-Arctic Siberian camps to those of the Baykal-Amur.

Indisputable documentary proof is to be found in Soviet regulations themselves. The camps on the Pechora River grew in the 1930's to such an extent that they were divided into two systems—Ukhta and Pechora. The regulations governing supplies and specifying the food rations for the camp inmates are incorporated in a 75-page official Russian document submitted to the United Nations It shows that the basic ration amounts to only 1,292 calories daily. Prisoners who produce 75 per cent of their daily

work norms receive 1,508 calories. Considering that the recommended daily minimum for an average man doing heavy physical labor is 4,500 calories, it is evident that rations are insufficient. It must be noted further that this particular camp is located above the Arctic Circle, and climatic conditions demand even more than the recommended daily minimum caloric intake.

Perhaps worse from the viewpoint of physical wellbeing is the composition of the prison diet. Enumerated in the regulations are the amounts of bread, fish, oils, vegetables and all other foodstuffs to be issued each month. These regulations show that the average prisoner receives almost no fats and oils and less than two pounds of meat per month Hundreds of witnesses' reports verify that vitamin-deficiency illness such as scurvy, loss of teeth and hair, and night blindness are extremely common. This is natural taking into account the lack of vegetables, meats and oils in camp diet The lot of the many political prisoners from the white collar and professional classes is particularly difficult, as they are unaccustomed to heavy physical labor and have the greatest difficulty fulfilling work norms calculated for healthy laborers.

The official diet and food regulations, as outlined for the Ukhta-Pechora camps, would appear to be typical of those enforced at all Soviet forced labor establishments. They would be inhuman enough even if the last gram of food permitted were given to every forced laborer in all camps, but a consensus of witness reports tends to indicate that, in practice, some camp administrations do not even supply the full ration of food as covered in the regulations. Furthermore, the quality of most camp food is indescribably low. Rotten vegetables and soggy, ill-baked bread which forms the bulk of the diet and is rationed by weight, are not the exception, but often the rule.

It is a dubious tribute to the ingenuity of the NKVD and of Soviet communism that weak, unhealthy prisoners nevertheless work with a desperate energy to fulfill the high work norms set. Incentives in the normal sense do not

exist, but communist forced labor policy has discovered and fully employs the greatest human incentive of all: the will to live. It has been observed that slave-laborers work as if their lives depended on it. In Soviet camps this is quite literally true. The failure to fulfill his norm embarks the prisoner upon a vicious cycle: less work, less food; less food, less strength; less strength, less work; resulting in a further cut in food rations. The prisoner forces himself to the limit of endurance to fulfill the norm, as failure entails the beginning of a descending spiral with death through sickness and starvation facing him at its end.

Everything about the camps is calculated with heartless efficiency to extract the maximum labor from prisoners who are considered as expendable units in state economic planning rather than as human beings. There is little of the senseless sadism that was a hallmark of the Nazi concentration camps, and it should be noted that brutality is not employed for its own sake, but only in the interest of state economic and political policy.

Brutalities

NKVD questioning of political prisoners, suspected of defection or of such other serious political crimes as overt acts against the regime or membership in opposition groups is characterized by the same methods for inflicting mental torment and physical pain as those employed by the Gestapo. Beatings, alternating with lengthy sessions of questioning, during which the prisoner is deprived of food and rest, have become standard procedure in such cases. But once the NKVD has extracted the last possible scrap of desired information or incriminating confession, this form of cruelty is usually followed by the hopeless routine of the camp where life itself is a form of torture. Thieves and murderers, criminals in the Western sense, are spared the worst forms of interrogation, as are those who arrive at forced labor camps through mass arrests and deportations designed primarily to fill demands for manpower. The torture process is reserved for political suspects.

Transport from the detention prison to the eventual camp destination, after the disposition of the prisoner has been decided upon by the authorities, is usually accomplished under bestial conditions. The incredible overcrowding in locked, unheated prison railway or cattle cars, sometimes lasting for days, with no allowance made for physical needs or for provision of food, surpass in horror even the death trains of the Nazis. Transport conditions are largely the result of the regime's lack of consideration for its prisoners, plus the strain placed on NKVD manpower and transport facilities due to the enormous numbers of forced labòrers constantly in transit.

The comparatively small percentage of common criminals in the camps, *urkas,* tend to form a close-knit group who look with scorn upon the "politicals," considered their inferiors in camp society It is from this more favored, purely criminal element, that the leaders of the prison work brigades are usually drawn. Camp administration and Soviet authorities encourage this situation: "Old professional criminals become chiefs of shock work. It is precisely among this group of inmates that cadres of lower command at work . . are created most easily. " (*From Crime to Labor, J L. Averbakh, Moscow,* 1936, *p.* 195) The *urkas* contribute to the efficiency of the administration as they willingly cooperate in the exploitation of "politicals" and even inform upon them in return for somewhat preferential treatment and extra privileges. The main motives are to be found in the opportunities for leaders of work groups to escape much of the most back-breaking work themselves, and to receive more food.

So-called *bytoviks* among the prisoners form an even more favored group These are former officials of Soviet institutions, usually having held posts of lesser importance, who have been found guilty of purely non-political abuses and crimes like embezzlement. Having an ideologically clean bill of health, they are often given minor posts in camp administration.

The Extent of Forced Labor in the Soviet Union

As to the size of the slave labor force and the location of the camps, the Soviet government has given no information for almost twenty years. These are zealously guarded "state secrets," the revelation of which carries the heaviest penalties. The British delegate to the United Nations Economic and Social Council charged that more than ten million slave laborers are held and exploited in the Soviet Union, while the United States delegate estimated their number at between eight and 14 millions.

Expert authorities, such as Dallin and Nicolaevsky, conclude that there are between eight and 12 million Soviet forced laborers. A member of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University concluded that a figure of almost ten million forced laborers in the Soviet Union, as of January 1, 1939, could be arrived at on the basis of Soviet statistics and a detailed breakdown of the population by major occupational groups Another authority concluded that 13.5 million persons were involuntary laborers (*Review of Economics and Statistics, February,* 1948, *pp.* 40-41). Estimates run from a low figure of 3.5 million actual camp inmates (*Naum Jasny, Journal of Political Economy, October,* 1951, *pp.* 405-419) to 20 million (*Victor Kravchenko, I Chose Freedom*).

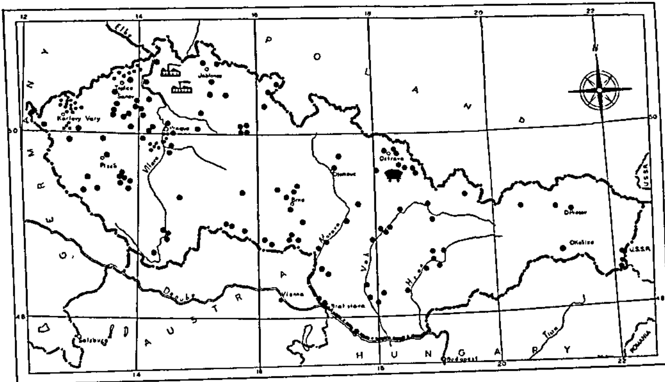
It would appear from all available evidence that the forced labor population of the Soviet Union is between 10 and 15 million persons. Soviet apologists would have it that only criminals inhabit corrective labor camps and colonies where they are being "reformed." They discount Western figures without, however, supplying any official Soviet figures. If political and economic considerations did not provide a base for the monolithic structure of Soviet forced labor, it would be patently impossible to have achieved such a fantastic increase in prison populations without a corresponding increase in crime. Purely criminal prison populations could not have expanded from a pre-communist maximum of 184,000 to the millions in one gen-

eration without an increase in crime of 1,000 to 10,000 percent.

The network of slave labor camps spreads across the Soviet Union. The map prepared by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor shows the location of upwards of 170 known slave camps. The interrelation between the location of these camps and known industrial and construction projects, calling for a tremendous supply of manual labor in frontier areas, clearly illustrates the whole insidious system of exploitation of forced labor as designed and operated in the "workers' paradise."

No objective analysis of communist forced labor and the camps, no official Soviet documents, no quotations from Soviet law or Soviet authority can paint the picture in terms of human suffering. The misery and despair, in which millions have died and millions more are existing, have been graphically described by witnesses who have personally been subjected to the Soviet labor system The bibliography at the close of this book should be consulted for reference to many recent books in English containing accounts of personal experiences.

Testimony on forced labor in the Soviet Union or its regions was presented to the United Nations Committee by representatives of the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Soviet Labor Camps (U S.), Esthonian Consultative Panel (U.S), Latvian and Lithuanian Consultative Panels (U.S.), International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Brussels), International League for the Rights of Man (New York), International Federation of Free Journalists (London), and the Commission Internationale contre le Regime Concentrationnaire (Paris).



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHAPTER IV

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN IMPORT

While the master pattern for the forced labor straightjacket was designed in the Soviet Union, it has been tailored to fit conditions in the captive countries. The developments in Czechoslovakia under communist rule are, considering its previous vigorous democracy, particularly tragic.

The Republic of Czechoslovakia, born at the end of World War I, was in many respects the model of a democratic state. Called the "Switzerland of Mid-Europe," her different ethnic groups lived in peace and harmony under a progressive government. Political freedom and equal justice under law were guaranteed. In twenty years of freedom great economic advances, too, were made. Her economy became one of the most highly industrialized on the Continent. The position of the workers and their economic standards steadily improved. Even during the depression, with its ravages of unemployment, the membership and power of the Communist Party steadily declined.

The Brown and the Red

But in the last of her years of independent national existence (1918-1939), Czechoslovakia was caught between the rising might of two powerful states dedicated to domination. Her tragedy was that of a small democracy successively threatened, then crushed, by the two most ruthless tyrannies of modern history.

It was in the desperate days after the Munich ultimatum, under the pressure of Nazi might, that her agony began. Then with the war came Nazi occupation, the concentration camp and organized terror as instruments of

government. The massacre at Lidice epitomized the methods of her first totalitarian conqueror.

When the Nazi-Soviet alliance ended with the German attack on Russia, occupied Czechoslovakia covertly welcomed the Soviet Union as an ally in the underground struggle against the Nazis. Old resentments from the days of World War I were forgotten as the Soviet Union and the government of Czechoslovakia in exile were officially linked in the common cause. It was generally hoped that this would mark the beginning of a new era of mutual trust and respect between the two nations. But subsequently, as the Red Army began to push through eastern Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia in pursuit of the German armies, behaving more like a conqueror than a liberator, hope began to fade. In the wake of the Red Army came the dread NKVD. It was then that Czechoslovakia had her first experience with Soviet forced labor policy. Later testimony established that an estimated 20,000 persons of Czechoslovak nationality were arrested and deported to the Soviet Union as early as 1945. (*See statements of Dr. Jozef Lettrich, former President, Slovakian National Council; Dr. Eduard Taborsky, former secretary to President Benes, later envoy to Sweden; Dr. Arn Heidrich, formerly of the Prague Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Bohumil Lausman, former Minister of Industries. See also statement by Czechoslovak element of the Peasants' International. These statements and evidence were presented at the Brussels hearings, May 21-June 1, 1951, International Commission against Concentration Camp Regime.*)

Those deported were employed as forced laborers in the Soviet Union. A summary of a detailed report submitted at the Brussels hearings by one deportee serves to show the fate of the rest who, unlike this man, were mainly of Russian origin.

Jan Sad (cover name) was a former Czech army officer. At the beginning of 1945, he was serving as liaison officer to the provisional Czechoslovak government. He was arrested at Presov and deported to the USSR in March, 1945 for criticizing the excesses of the "liberating" Red

Army. After his arrest, he was shipped to the Donbass coal basin, along with the majority of some 2,5[illegible] others of Czechoslovak citizenship. Here they were employed as forced laborers in coal mining operations. After one year's work, only 40 percent of his group were still alive. In 194[illegible], a number of this group, including Jan Sed[illegible], were transferred to the Morchansk camp in Siberia. After three and one-half years of imprisonment there and in various other forced labor camps in the USSR, he was one of 3[illegible] prisoners of the original group to be released and returned to Czechoslovakia, whence he escaped to the west.

With victory over Germany, the Nazi concentration camps were opened and their victims freed. Czechoslovakia set herself to the task of repairing the chaos left by war and occupation. But communist forces were at work. Russian troops were on her soil to "guard communications" and her dependence on her powerful neighbor was great. In 1948, the country fell to a Communist coup. Several weeks later, even the symbol of democracy was extinguished as Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk "fell" to his death in a Prague courtyard. The concentration camps [illegible] the Nazis were reopened by the Communists, not only as instruments of political punishment, but to exploit the labor of opponents and dissenters. Although this system was instituted early in 1948 (probably on the basis of a [illegible] Government enactment of 1955), the [illegible] basis for a network of forced labor camps was [illegible] by Law #247 of October, 1948.

Industrial Czechoslovakia Exploits Forced Labor

Since the communist seizure of power, the [illegible] economy, like the economies of all the [illegible] is being increasingly integrated into the [illegible] plans of the Soviet Empire. These plans [illegible] signed to promote the [illegible] power, and in them Czechoslovakia [illegible] special role, on the basis of [illegible] sources. The high degree of [illegible]

cient labor force, so painstakingly built up through the free years, are now being systematically exploited, not for the benefit of Çzechoslovakia, but to fulfill Soviet requirements. Exploiting the efficient and industrial machine, the new rulers are using it to produce the tools and equipment needed for industrializing the whole east European communist orbit.

The existence in Czechoslovakia of probably the richest uranium deposits in eastern Europe has been anything but a national blessing. The feverish Soviet atom-bomb program, of which uranium is the basic requirement, has brought great numbers of Russian technicians into Czechoslovakia's uranium areas to oversee the mining operations It has also brought direct Russian control of the huge labor force required.

Reports of conditions in the uranium mines are appalling. Safety measures are almost non-existent. Nothing is done to safeguard the miners from emanations from radioactive ores, and even the usual protective measures are alleged to be ignored. The food of forced laborers in the uranium mines is inadequate to maintain health even for sedentary occupations, let alone for those doing the incredibly hard work at long hours that is demanded.

A typical prisoner's menu is reported to be: Breakfast - 1 pint black coffee (ersatz); Dinner - 1 pint soup, plus small dumplings made of flour (main meal of the day); Supper - 1 pint black coffee plus three potatoes About 2 ounces of meat are served roughly every second day (including such items as horse entrails). Sometimes 2 ounces of preserves or of cheese are served at supper. The daily bread ration does not exceed 9 ounces (8 slices of bread). This is the food allowance—about 1500 calories, half the need of a laborer—in most of the camps, as confirmed by over 50 refugee witnesses. It is inevitable that a large percentage of the inmates contract tuberculosis, lose their teeth and suffer from diseases caused by a combination of malnutrition and overwork. Conditions in all Czechoslovak forced labor camps are deplorable; but those connected with mining operations are the worst.

Jan Horak's Story

The following witness reports give a detailed picture of the forced labor system in action.

Jan Horak (cover name) was a young businessman, the head of a small motor transport company employing eight persons in the city of Sturove. His automobile had been requisitioned by the State, but he was unable to deliver it promptly to the authorities because it was being repaired. On February 22, 1950, he was picked up at his office by two security police and taken to headquarters where he was questioned for 16 hours, accused of sabotaging his car to postpone delivery. He was then taken to the municipal jail, where he was held a week before being released.

On April 6, 1950, he was again arrested, this time at his home. Again taken to headquarters, he was questioned at length as to why he had given his employees the Good Friday holiday, in contravention of orders that the day was to be a working day. The police also re-opened the question of the late delivery of his requisitioned automobile.

After eight days at headquarters, Jan Horak was removed to the Nitra district jail where he was beaten in an effort to make him confess crimes against the State. On May 6, 1950, he was taken before one judge who heard his case, after which the police put him in a car and told him that he was being returned to headquarters to check out. Instead he was driven directly to the Novaky forced labor camp. Only during his registration there did he first learn that he had been sentenced to one year at hard labor.

The Novaky forced labor camp contained between 2,000 and 3,000 prisoners while he was confined there, housed in a total of 39 barracks. Of three large compounds, one, containing 12 barracks, was reserved exclusively for women prisoners. The inmates were taken to their assigned work in trucks, each load of prisoners being under the supervision of armed guards. Jan Horak worked in a coal mine,a chemical plant and as a mason on a construction job. In the mines, the work week was usually seven days, even though regulations stipulated six, and the hours of work

usually exceeded the stipulated eight. Travel time to and from the job was not included as work time. While prisoners were theoretically paid a fair monthly wage, in actual practice they received almost nothing. After deductions had been made by the authorities for food, for quarters at the camp, for camp clothing and for "Culture and Education," usually less than 10 percent of the authorized amount was left to the prisoner's account, and this amount was normally sent home to a prisoner's family. Food was delivered to the prisoners on the job, but was often of such quality that it was difficult to stomach. Most of the barracks had toilets, but neither tubs nor showers for bathing.

Before Jan Horak had served his full sentence, it was commuted, and he was released on a three-year parole, to report weekly to the police. He later escaped from the country. This example of comparative mildness of treatment is interesting from several aspects. Jan Horak was neither an active political opponent, nor did he commit any serious crime. His offense was simply that of belonging to the middle class. He neither protested the requisition of his automobile, nor did he deliberately postpone its delivery. The beating he received at one jail may be considered as nothing more than communist police routine. His comparative good fortune lay in being taken to a camp where the population was composed largely of businessmen, former teachers and others not considered dangerous opponents of the regime, but merely members of "unreliable" classes.

Josef Polak's Story

Prior to his arrest, Josef Polak (cover name) was employed as a chauffeur at the American Embassy in Prague—a dangerous occupation. He and the other Czech employees became increasingly fearful of arrest on some charge connected with serving the *United States*. The increasingly virulent "hate America" campaign waged in the Czechoslovak communist press intensified his fears. [illegible] allegations to sabotage, espionage and similar

charges against the "American imperialists" who employed him, and the nervousness of his family and friends who knew where he was employed finally made up his mind. In May, 1950, he started to plan his escape from the country before his inevitable arrest. With the utmost caution and circumspection, he sounded out certain friends he believed willing to risk an escape attempt. When they revealed to him their own escape plans, a joint attempt was decided.

It was set for the night of June 21. Early in the morning of June 22, Polak was ambushed and arrested near Karlsbad; the other members of the escape group were caught almost at the German border in the city of Cheb. The police took Polak to jail in Karlsbad, and later that day delivered him under guard to Pankrac Prison in Prague. From June 22 until October 5, 1950, he was held in the dreaded prison. On October 5, he was conducted to a civilian People's Court sitting in a building connected with Pankrac Prison by an underground passage. Here, for the first time since his arrest, he came face to face with the other members of the escape group seized at Cheb The defendants in the trial were charged with a collection of crimes against the state. The principle "evidence" was that gathered by the interrogators. Polak was sentenced to 15 years, plus 10 years on probation with loss of all rights of citizenship and confiscation of personal property.

After the trial, he was sent to a forced labor prison camp in the heart of the uranium mining district. The consignment of prisoners of which he was part consisted of 50 men, all handcuffed, under armed guard and crowded into a single bus. Upon arrival at the camp, Polak was assigned to one of 15 similar unheated, floorless old wooden buildings. There were at the time some 1800 men in the 15 barracks comprising the compound Food was issued from a central kitchen. The diet consisted of bread, ersatz coffee, soup and one heavy dish per day, usually noodles, macaroni or dumplings. The majority of the prisoners were young, and had been in good physical condition when assigned to the camp. They worked a seven-day week, eight hours a day, underground.

The inmates were rotated every third week to another of the three shifts into which the 24-hour period was divided Prisoners were given daily quotas which varied from day to day according to the location, size and difficulty of the particular ore deposit. The quotas seemed nicely calculated to be the amount of work a man could do if pushed to the limit of endurance. The prisoners worked as if their lives depended on it—which was in fact the case. For if they failed to meet the quota, either they were forced to work another shift, making 16 hours work underground out of 24, or they were deprived of a full food ration the following day.

The compound and the barracks were guarded and patrolled 24 hours a day, and armed guards also patrolled the shafts and underground workings The prisoners were issued "wages" in the form of camp scrip, supposedly redeemable for legal Czech tender after release. Polak's usual earnings over a six-month period, after deductions, averaged 40 crowns in scrip per month (roughly $1.00 at the legal rate of exchange in 1950).

The end of a shift in the mines did not usually mean the prisoners' daily tasks were over. In addition to cleaning their quarters and similar chores, they were often put to work constructing new barracks. Medical treatment was provided by a 40-bed clinic, attended by a doctor and his assistant, both prisoners themselves. While the prisoners were permitted to report for routine medical treatment only during the first shift (6 A.M. to 2 P.M), the clinic was open 24 hours a day to receive men injured in the mines. The accident rate was extremely high, due to the virtual lack of safety measures.

There was an auditorium in the compound where Russian-language courses and lectures on Communism were given and where political indoctrination films, including many Russian-made documentaries, were shown. Although prisoners who attended were given better deportment ratings and rewarded by small extra prison privileges, attendance was apparently not compulsory. Some of the more courageous prisoners, including Polak, did not attend.

In March, 1951, Polak and six other prisoners began working on an escape tunnel. Gradually they opened a series of connecting unused shafts leading 150 meters from the heart of the mine. Taking turns, under constant danger of detection, one man at a time worked feverishly in the fetid atmosphere to complete the last 10-meter tunnel needed to reach the surface. They had to maintain their high work quotas in addition to finding the physical stamina to dig their secret passage. Almost at the end of their long and nerve-wracking effort, near-tragedy struck as they were almost discovered. But they reached the German border and safety.

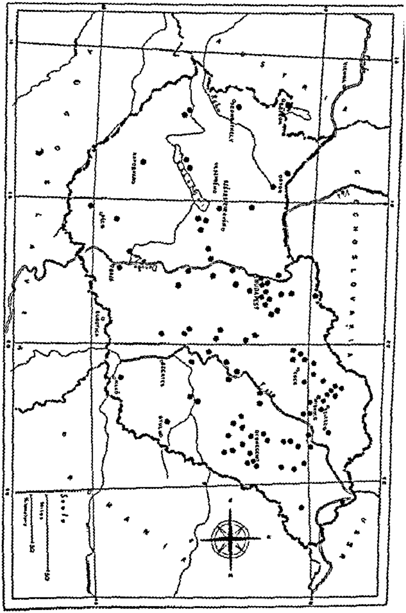
The Czech Pattern of Forced Labor

From the hundreds of witness accounts of escapees from the satellite countries, a pattern of forced labor can be traced. Variations exist in the different countries, but the overall pattern shows an underlying uniformity. The distinctive feature of forced labor in Czechoslovakia is the assignment of prisoners to work in the uranium mines. Similar forced labor, on a lesser scale, exists in the smaller uranium mines of neighboring East Germany. Clearly, the economic objectives of Soviet military planning dictate the extent of forced labor in Czechoslovakia. Most of the camps are situated in or near mining or industrial centers, with by far the greatest concentration being the 26 large camps centered in the uranium ore area of Jachymov. In addition, six more camps are listed in the uranium ore area of Pribram

Nine camps are found in the coal mining areas, one, Kladno-Pc-3 FLC, housing 10,000 inmates. Approximately 100 additional camps, located near towns, supply forced labor for a wide variety of economic and industrial projects. 14 camps are exclusively for women sentenced to forced labor; six are youth labor camps; 20 are exclusively for clergy. The Uzhorod-Transit Camp in Carpatho-Russia is for prisoners en route to Soviet Russia.

The foregoing account of forced labor in Czecl

slovakia was prepared by the East European Inquiry of the Mid-European Studies Center. This project does not estimate the precise population of the forced labor camps. However, the presentation to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the United Nations in November, 1952, of the International Federation of Free Journalists accounted for 195,000 inmates of forced labor camps in Czechoslovakia as of October 15, 1952. Additional testimony on forced labor and the conditions in the camps was submitted by the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (U.S.) and the National Committee for a Free Europe (N.Y.).



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN HUNGARY

CHAPTER V

RED HUNGARY

Hungary differs from the other satellite countries only in not having a specific new legal foundation for forced labor. Old laws, dating from the Horthy regime and even before, are being interpreted to reach those whom the regime condemns to forced labor service. While we are concerned only with the exploitation of "political" labor in Hungary, we should note reliable reports of the many thousands of Hungarian prisoners of war still held, presumably as forced laborers, in the Soviet Union; and of the thousands of civilian laborers deported there since the Russian occupation and the establishment of communist power. Repatriated war prisoners have testified to the fact that the missing have been swallowed up in the vast Soviet forced labor system

Socialization of the Hungarian Economy

Communist Hungary offers evidence of the increasing scope of forced labor in the satellite countries, as well as a telling illustration of the reasons for its increasing use. Since the communist assumption of power, the economy of Hungary has been increasingly socialized and increasingly exploited for the primary benefit of Soviet Russia. The Soviet economy, not the people of Hungary, have first call on Hungary's natural resources and products. Not only has Hungary had to repair the ravages of a destructive war and occupation, but she has had to accomplish this tremendous task with the loss of a high percentage of manpower both during and after the war. Communist administration entails an enormous bureaucracy, siphoning off more pro-

ductive manpower, while the repressive apparatus of a police state also demands large forces.

After the progressive socialization of heavy industry and the smaller factories came that of small business and trade, now almost completely under state control. Private enterprise in fact has been outlawed. Socialization of the Hungarian economy, instead of bringing the promised social gains, has brought for the worker only longer hours and harder work, without any increase in the low standard of living.

The interrelated reasons for this present failure are the emphasis on heavy industrialization, which demands a high percentage of the labor force in construction before production can even begin, and the fact that a large percentage of the entire economic output leaves the country for the Soviet Union or wherever Soviet control of Hungary's foreign trade dictates. Experience in Hungary, as in other countries of the Soviet bloc, shows that Soviet-satellite trade is a one-way road, with the major benefits accruing to Russia.

The Process and Role of Forced Labor

Decree No. 4/1950 deals with the "penal defense of the planned economy" and is so worded as to make almost any tardiness on the job, or laxity or inattention to the "demands of rationalized work" punishable by imprisonment and forced labor, if the suspect is proved guilty of "deliberate intent." These economic "crimes" can in practice be applied to almost any Hungarian worker whom the authorities wish to convict.

As in all the communist countries, forced laborers are assigned to the heaviest manual labor. If the prisoners are unable to perform their tasks on their meager diet, the unwritten law on forced laborers—they are expendable—applies.

Hungarian labor camps are similar to those in other satellite countries, with conditions varying from camp to camp, and from bad to worse. Whatever the legal basis invoked,

justice in the Western sense does not exist. Neither a trial nor a sentence on the basis of law is required. The forced laborer is simply "interned" by administrative police fiat. Theoretically, the internee is not a convict, but he is placed under a prison regime and subject to the same working conditions as those tried and sentenced by a court. He is better off only in that no legal sentence has been imposed, and he will therefore eventually have to be released or tried. On the other hand, psychologically, the internees may be regarded as less favored than convicts, since convicts have a definite time to serve, while the commitment of the internee is indeterminate.

The Case of a Railway Worker

The case of a Hungarian railway worker transformed into a forced laborer through the simple expedient of a police internment warrant is illustrative. On September 4, 1950, this man, who testified after his escape, was interned on the orders of the Hungarian AVH (State Security Police). The sole reason given was that he had made private statements hostile to the regime at his place of work and among his friends. He was first taken to an internment camp and *then transferred to a forced labor camp to work on construction.*

He helped in the construction of housing at Oroszlany, of an aluminum foundry at Inota and of a factory at Isaszeg. He reported that food, while poor in quality and small in quantity, was not so bad as to cause deficiency diseases. Working hours were officially limited to eight, but usually ran to 10 and sometimes as high as 11 hours a day. Sunday, the official rest day, was often ignored. Treatment of prisoners was rough, occasionally even brutal, primarily to exact maximum work. The inmates of the projects were housed in temporary barracks. Sleeping arrangements were the usual—bunks close-packed, one above the other. Prisoners were constantly prodded and driven to work harder, faster, better. But prison conditions were reported to be

comparatively humane by comparison with practices of the worst camps.

This man escaped in April, 1952, and was successful in crossing the Austrian border. His report, corroborated independently by other escapees, shows up many phases of the forced labor system in Hungary. It shows how even lip-service to legal guarantees is flouted, and it demonstrates the extent to which the regime goes in eliminating trifling personal criticism.

The Small Landholder

Hungary, next to Czechoslovakia, is probably now the most industrialized of the East European satellites. Industrialization is being rapidly expanded, apparently because Hungary is slated to assume a leading part in the overall plans of supplying the needs of the other satellites and of Soviet Russia. Agriculture, however, is still an important phase of the Hungarian economy, and the communist regime has not overlooked the farmer.

A photostat of an original internment warrant from Headquarters of the Ninth District of Miskolc, Hungarian Political Police, charges a middle-aged farmer of Szendro with being a *"kulak."* The pertinent charges were: "He engages locally in right-wing politics, does not work, incites against democracy; consequently it may be assumed that he would attempt to obstruct the crop deliveries, and for this reason it was necessary to take him into custody. There is good reason to believe that, if left at large, he would engage in activities detrimental to state interests from an economic standpoint."

This internment warrant is of interest as illustrating both the economic and political aspects of imprisonment without trial as applied to the rural population. The Hungarian small farmers (the larger landholders were expropriated upon the communist assumption of power) still constitute a stumbling block to the fulfilment of the agricultural plans of the Hungarian communist regime. Politically they represent a potential anti-or non-communist democratic force,

which the regime is determined to annihilate. Powerless since communist political control of the country became a fact, these small holders had provided the broad base of electoral support in the free Hungarian elections of 1945, when the Smallholders Party polled 56.5% of the vote as opposed to the 17% received by the Communists.

The owners of medium-sized farms are being subjected to a policy of economic liquidation by the regime, through the application of a discriminatory tax policy and a system of forced delivery quotas on their produce. By communist agricultural definition, as of 1949, any farmer holding more than 25 cadastral acres (roughly 30 American acres) is defined as a *"kulak."* As such he is subject to vilification as a bourgeois and "capitalist element." *"Kulaks"* are considered "class enemies" and the regime, by constant resort to propaganda, tries to incite the smaller peasants against them. The eventual complete socialization of Hungarian agriculture, a process that began in 1947, appears inevitable in a few more years. The land of the *"kulaks"* will be incorporated into large state farms and collectives The formerly more prosperous farmers are already beginning to form a large percentage of forced labor camp inmates, condemned for such crimes as those in the quoted internment warrant.

Note the last sentence in that document! *"There is good reason to believe that, if left at large, he would engage in activities detrimental to state interests from an economic standpoint."* Here is a man confined not for what he had done, but for what he might do. Nearing the age of 60, he is forced to work 10 to 11 hours a day on an inadequate diet for a state which would destroy him!

Case Histories before the United Nations

One of the most illuminating depositions on forced labor is incorporated in a "Memorandum on Forced Labor Camps in Hungary," submitted to the *Ad Hoc* C. on Forced Labor of the United Nations by the " National Council.

"Statement: I, the undersigned J.R., operating room attendant, re-educated as textile worker, born in Budapest on July 15, 1917, make the following statement, voluntarily and according to my best knowledge and conscience, con-confirmed by my own signature. I was a resident of ----- in Hungary I am married. My wife E.P. and my mother live in ------. The Council headed by Dr. Csatay sentenced me in September, 1947, to six years forced labor for statements made against the people's democracy. I had been allotted a building site in the settlement Uj Osztas (New Division) in Hajdudorog where, with the assistance of my father-in-law, I built a one-family house. I went to work at the clinic in Debrecen, where I was employed as operating-room attendant. Returning from my job in August, 1947, I was informed by my wife that I was to report to the Communist Party in Hajdudorog. They called upon me as one having accepted a building site, to join the Party and do propaganda work in the neighborhood. I declared that neither I nor my family had ever been members of any party, and that I had no desire to join up now. They declared that they would take away my house, upon which I became angry and used strong language in connection with the house, Stalin and Rakosi. The Party sent me home; however, the same night some twenty members of the AVO (Political Police) of Debrecen came for me and took me to the office of the political department in Debrecen. I was beaten and the next day they took me to Budapest, to Stalin-ut 60. I again was beaten several times and pricked with pins. From there I was taken to the prison at Marko-utca. On February 4, 1948, I was sentenced to six years forced labor. I appealed and was held at Vac prison until my case was decided. After the rejection of my appeal I was taken to Sopronkohida in June 1948, in order to serve my sentence of forced labor.

"I was in Sopronkohida until June 1951 and was made to do textile work. There were no means of refusing to perform forced labor. Our fare was poor. We received a daily ration of 300 grams of bread, black coffee for breakfast and a thin soup for our midday and evening meals. We

were around 1200 and were housed three to four persons in a small cell. Nearly all of us worked in the textile factory 12 hours daily, one week on the day shift, the other on the night shift. My companions and I frequently collapsed during work in consequence of inadequate nourishment. Several prisoners contracted tuberculosis and about 20 died while I was there. During intermission in work we had to walk under guard and were forbidden to talk to one another. *The warden, Gyula Toth, a former Budapest shoe*maker, decreed a punishment of four to five days solitary confinement for the least petty offense. Prisoners caught in the act of smoking were put in irons for six hours. In addition, the latter were deprived of their right to write letters, which otherwise was permitted four times a year. The prison staff consisted of rough and primitive men, some being gypsies

"After having served the first part of my sentence, I was taken to Szabadszallas where we did construction work, together with paid workers. Close to 300 forced laborers were housed in two barracks, under military surveillance. Our treatment was somewhat better than in Sopronkohida. Food was of better quality, but insufficient for our heavy work. On several occasions 100 persons had to go without their evening meal. Forced laborers had to work as much as the paid workers, that is, from 7 o'clock in the morning to 6 o'clock in the afternoon, with one hour off for lunch. While the paid workers received 500 grams of bread, we received only 300 grams. There were not so many cases of illness and I cannot remember any cases of death.

"In July, 1951 I escaped from Szabadszallas with a fellow convict named Istvan Morat, to Yugoslavia, via Hercegszanto. We were arrested Later, however, I received work in the state-owned meat processing factory at Sid, where I worked for a year. On August 2nd of this year I escaped to Austria, and on the 3rd I arrived in Germany and reported at the Hungarian office today.

"Munich, August 7, 1952. Signed: J.R."

The above statement was authenticated by Ludwig Mittenzwei, Notary

Public on August 7, 1952 under URNr. 2195/52 (see original under Nr. 29, Memorandum of the Hungarian National Council).

How unhappily typical is this story for many young men and women behind the Iron Curtain! To this young Hungarian, standing for the first time in his new home representing so much hope, so much creative effort and a certain security, for just one moment Communism, as applied to him, seems a normal, even beneficent form of government. But he soon learns that Communism is not philanthropic by nature. For any benefits conferred, it demands a double measure of return. The refusal "voluntarily" to cooperate with the Party made future difficulties inevitable. The natural hot-headed reaction to the threat of seizure of his house changed this man's life. For one indulgence in freedom of expression, the little world he had so painstakingly built for himself was destroyed.

Forced Labor Camps in Hungary

The International League for the Rights of Man, in its presentation before the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the United Nations on June 18, 1952, listed 95 known forced labor camps in Hungary. Notable among them were these camps:

In the Trans-Tisza area, at Vokonya-Puszta, is a camp for 600 women inmates who work on canals. At Nagyhalasz, north of Debrecen, is a heavily guarded camp for "deviationists" and purged party members. Debrecen II, five to six kilometers from the city, is a large camp established by the Russian Army. Since 1948, it has been a camp for Volksdeutsch deportees from Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It is divided into two compounds: one for women and children under 14, the other for men and boys over 14. Total population is 4,500. At Mezoetur, 600-800 prisoners, drawn mostly from the class of skilled workers in the larger Hungarian cities, are engaged in military construction.

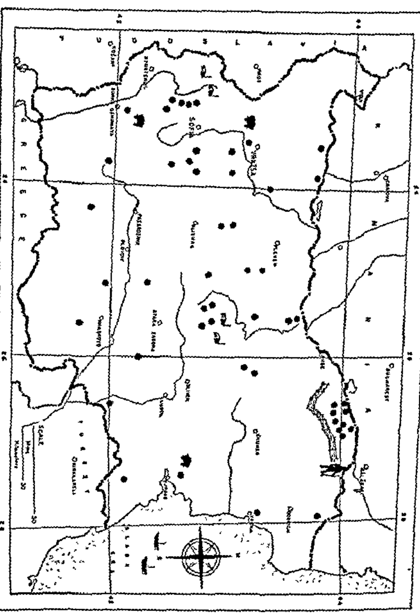
In the Felsomagyarorszag area, is the Tallya camp, north of the city of Szerencs, at which a detachment of 250 prisoners, mostly priests and professionals, arrived in De-

cember, 1950, to work in the stone quarry. At Kazing-Barcika, 1,000 prisoners work in power plants a fertilizer plant and on housing construction. At Sajobabony, near Miskolc, the inmates are constructing a new industrial center. At Recsk, 4,500 prisoners mine copper and gold. At Vac, (not to be confused with old Vac prison which is a penitentiary for long-term political convicts) 1,600 to 2,000 political prisoners are interned In the Duna Tisza Koze area, is the Harta camp, where 2,600 inmates, mainly intellectuals and convicted Arrow Cross party members, work on a state farm

In the Dunantul area, the Brennbergbanya camp near Sapron employs 1,000 prisoners in the soft coal pits 1,500 inmates each mine coal at Oroszlany near Tatabanya and at the Pilisszevtivan camp. The camp at Tarcsa-Puszta, near Pecs, is divided into three compounds one contains 350 male internees; one contains 300 male prisoners, and one contains 250 female inmates All three compounds are employed on state agricultural projects

Based on testimony submitted to the United Nations, it would appear that there are in the neighborhood of 200,-000 forced laborers in Hungary. Evidence was submitted by the Hungarian National Committee, with headquarters in the United States, the International League for Free Journalists (London) and, as indicated, the International League for the Rights of Man

Hungary, a nation which could have gradually achieved a happy balance between agriculture and industry to the advantage of her people, has been consistently a victim of totalitarian oppression. Making use of laws long ago written into the Hungarian statute books, the communist administration in Hungary has been able to establish a system of forced labor both in industry and on the farms which makes it possible for that nation to meet the demands placed upon it by the Soviet Union.



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN BULGARIA

CHAPTER VI

AGRARIAN BULGARIA

How The Communists Took Over

Bulgaria, prior to communist rule, was a typical agrarian state. A small Balkan country, comparatively little known in America and the West, her people were small peasant farmers who owned and worked their own family farms. Of all the satellites, Bulgaria had the highest percentage of its population engaged in farming—eight out of every ten Bulgarians. Industry was negligible, and her few exports consisted of agricultural products—tobacco, attar of roses and wheat. Bulgaria was an agrarian country in every sense of the word.

The communist-inspired *coup d'etat* of September, 1944 brought a coalition government to office,—the so-called Fatherland Front. The Communists had never enjoyed wide support or political importance, despite long and intensive efforts. There were practical reasons for this. The factory and urban workers, from whom Communism usually draws a higher percentage of converts, were numerically unimportant. Among the rural population, Communism failed to attract many supporters, because the Bulgarian peasant usually owned his own small farm, and did not respond to communist propaganda. Large estates, landless peasants and powerful landlords exploiting agricultural labor were almost non-existent in pre-communist Bulgaria.

A country of small land-holding peasants reflects the conservatism and independence of the small property-own-

to whose presence a leading Bulgarian Communist, Vulko Chervenkov, later publicly attributed much of the Communists' success. Georgi Dimitrov, the leading Bulgarian Communist of the time, was another asset—an important figure in the world communist movement with much influence and prestige even outside communist circles.

The People's Militia, created from the Bulgarian Partisans (fighters against the Nazi occupation), a group which never exceeded 4,000 during the war, but communist-controlled, rapidly assumed a powerful role in the consolidation of communist power and its complete domination of the Fatherland Front. Dimitrov, at the time the coalition government was formed, was filling the dual role of secretary and official voice of the Comintern, as well as directing the Bulgarian Communist Party. It was he who insisted that the Communists must have the Ministry of the Interior (the police) in the coalition cabinet. Following the familiar pattern, the leaders of the non-communist political parties participating in the Fatherland Front were thereby subjected to intimidation and even arrest, and were quickly reduced to political impotence. The communist police began mass arrests almost as soon as the Party controlled the Ministry, and Bulgaria thus rapidly became the communist satrapy of Georgi Dimitrov.

Communist Planning in an Agrarian Economy

Bulgaria is of particular interest as the prime example of the impact of communist control on an agrarian economy. Soviet-type collectives have little in common with Western cooperatives which are voluntarily formed and democratically controlled. Collectives are governmental institutions. When a farmer joins, his farm becomes the property of the collective, and if he resigns or is expelled, his land, his cattle and his inventory remain the property of the collective.

The cooperative movement had enjoyed some success in non-communist Bulgaria. Even though the new government retained some of the forms of the old-style coopera-

tives, the Bulgarian peasants largely refused to join the collective farms despite the most intensive government propaganda. The government thereupon adopted a mixture of cajolery and intimidation. The peasants were promised tax and other advantages if they joined, including priority on consumer and farm necessities, while farmers who refused were subjected to increasing and confiscatory taxes. In addition, they were branded *"kulaks,"* and, as such, became subject to calumny and gradual liquidation.

Forced Labor on State Farms

State farms, modeled on the Russian *sovhozi,* are another communist innovation. Those working on state farms are in effect farm wage-laborers who do not participate in increased returns as do members of collectives.

State farms have been and are being formed out of lands expropriated by the State. In addition to "free" labor, they are being worked in increasing numbers by forced laborers. The legal basis for forced labor on state farms was set out in legislation providing for "forced labor-educational work" at certain governmental farms or designated villages under the surveillance of the People's Militia. The "Law of the People's Militia" allows the communist police "to commit to communities for educational labor or to a new place of residence persons guilty of fascist and anti-people manifestations . . ." and even "those who 'spread malignant and false rumors'."

Any peasant labelled by the communist authorities as a *"kulak"* can be charged with the above "crimes" and without a trial, can be shipped to a labor camp to serve as a forced laborer. The government may also take his land and incorporate it into a state farm. Here is developing the whole wretched system of rural serfdom, recreated in the twentieth century in Eastern Europe, in a country notable for the independence of its peasant landholders.

The underlying reasons for the government's emphasis on collective and state farms, contrary to communist claims, have little connection with peasant welfare. Collec-

tivization of agriculture is for the benefit of the State, not the individual. The individual peasant has little incentive to produce more than for the needs of his family when he is unable to buy what he wants with surplus produce. His income has thereby become even smaller in terms of purchasing power, and his living standard is depressed. Furthermore, he is subject to forced delivery quotas to the State at extremely low prices.

Forced Industrialization with Forced Labor

While the agrarian economy worked fairly well in pre-communist Bulgaria, there was agricultural underemployment due to the fact that, though the land was fairly divided, too many people lived on it. While measures were tried to encourage industrialization, little success was achieved. The country is now being industrialized under pressure by the State—at a high price in human misery. This is part of the overall Soviet plan for the integration of the Bulgarian economy with that of the Soviet and the other satellite states.

The emphasis is on heavy industry. All of Bulgaria's industry was nationalized by the end of 1947, and since then, analysis of communist figures tends to show that industrial workers have about doubled. Forced labor is employed apparently in every type of work connected with the industrialization program and, following the familiar pattern, it is assigned the heaviest manual tasks. Section 3 of the "Law on Labor Mobilization" provides that "compulsory social labor . . . shall be used at projects of general utility such as construction of roads, railroad tracks, canals, dams, buildings, levees, river corrections, forestation, tillage of government or public farms, work in the mines, quarries, factories, workshops and the like . . ."

One of the few natural resources in the country is the coal deposits near the city of Pernik, renamed Dimitrovo, in honor of the late communist leader. Forced labor is widely used in the mining of coal. Dams and power stations have been built largely with the help of forced labor-

ers—scarcely to be included among those "heroes of socialist labor," proudly cited by the government.

Presentations before the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee in June, 1952 and in November, 1952 estimate a total of 110,000 inmates at various times in approximately 50 camps. Measured against a total estimate of some 300,000 workers engaged in all Bulgarian industry, the figure assumes unbelievable proportions. Testimony on forced labor in Bulgaria was submitted to the United Nations by the International Federation of Free Journalists and the International League for the Rights of Man.

Forced Labor of Women

Conditions in the camps are roughly the same as those in other satellite countries. There appears to be a slightly higher percentage of camps for women in Bulgaria than in the others, probably because so many rural women are agricultural workers. A special section of large Kaphaldja camp is for women inmates, one of whom is a former member of the Bulgarian parliament, Mrs. Elisaveta Popantonova. Typical forced labor camps and the conditions as applied to Bulgarian women confined in them are to be found in the two women's camps near the city of Tutrakan.

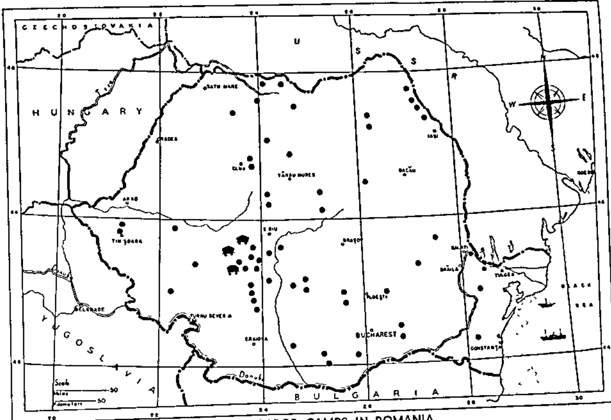
The women inmates work in the fields of a large state farm producing beets, grapes and vegetables. The same system of work norms that characterizes forced labor elsewhere is applied to their work. The daily norms for some of their assigned agricultural tasks are high:—to handle three tons of beetroots, to dig out five *decares* of beetroots, to prepare one *decare* of soil for planting of paprika, or to plant one and a half *decares* of paprika. Food is insufficient to maintain the physical strength for such hard labor and such long hours. If the women fail to fulfill the norm, their rations are cut by one-half. The work lasts for as long as 11 hours a day.

Political indoctrination for women prisoners seems to be considered more important than for men. Indoctrination meetings are often held at night after the day's work. It is

reported that at these meetings, after the inmates have returned from 10 or 11 hours of exhausting work in the fields, they take this pledge, "I solemnly promise to give all my forces and abilities on the economic front for building up the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Many new Bulgarian laws progressively widen the field of "crimes" under which citizens can be condemned to forced labor without trial. Justice in the Western sense appears not to exist in Bulgaria, where political offenses are involved.

The legal provisions of all satellite countries related to forced labor are of only secondary significance, because where specific laws are lacking, old laws are distorted to serve the purpose. The legal provisions in Bulgaria, however, indicate clearly the extent and purpose of forced labor as a means to crush opposition and ultimately to help fulfill the economic plans of the entire Soviet East European bloc.



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN ROMANIA

CHAPTER VII

ROMANIA: LATIN ISLAND IN THE SLAV SEA

Culturally, Romania is an outpost of western Europe on the Russian border. Linguistically and ethnologically, it is a sort of Latin island in the great Slav sea. As a people, the Romanians have a history stretching back to the Romans; but as an independent national entity, Romania is only 75 years old. The vicissitudes of the last century in mid-Europe have been even more extreme here than in neighboring states. This fact is reflected in the frequent changes in Romania's boundaries, alliances and political life.

The end of World War I saw the beginning of a period that sounded a note of independent progress. Almost immediately, substantial agrarian reforms in this predominantly agricultural country were set in motion. The land was redistributed to those who worked it, with compensation to the landowners in government bonds, secured by peasant purchase payments over a 20-year period.

But the combination of its difficult position in the "witches' cauldron" of the Balkans and the shaky politics during the years of the Carol monarchy spelled gradual doom. In 1938, with the abnegation of the 1923 Constitution, and the creation of a one-party government, Romania entered upon a period of totalitarian domination that has now culminated in total national subjugation. Except for a brief period in 1944-45, when the dictatorial government of Ion Antonescu was overthrown by King Michael and replaced by a coalition government under General Sanatescu, Romania has come to know only the heel of the dictator, first of the brown and then of the red variety.

Within six months of their entry into the coalition government, the Communists had seized total power in Romania. It was not difficult to reassert the police state government which had characterized the Antonescu regime. The concentration camps were intact, and minor-role Iron Guardists offered an initial limited reservoir of forced labor manpower to be confined (*Armistice Convention of* 1944). Over the years, the legal basis for internment was spread to include "vagrants, beggars, prostitutes" and others regarded as socially useless and economically unproductive (*Decree No.* 351, 1949). Subsequently, the precedents having been set, the regime moved to administrative confinement and forced labor for substantial segments of the population—supporters of the early coalition government, labor drafts in industry for young people, labor drafts for agricultural employment in developing state collectives, and the "resettlement" of those being evacuated from big cities. To a large extent, seemingly innocuous decrees calling for the development of increased balance between industrial and agricultural life in Romania and city-rural population, were used as a basis for interning in forced labor camps persons mildly unfriendly to the regime, or otherwise regarded as unreliable.

Material submitted to the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor states that prisoners for the concentration camps in Romania are drawn from the following elements in the population: (1) former members of the democratic parties—Independent Socialist Democratic Party, Liberal Party, National Peasant Party; (2) evacuated people from the western frontier area; (3) anti-communist workers; (4) former landowners, whose properties have been expropriated; (5) former state employees and Army officers; (6) white collar workers, chiefly civil service employees; (7) economic saboteurs; (8) persons evacuated from houses commandeered as Russian billets.

It is principally in terms of these elements that the procedures for relieving the congestion of urban centers

(since March, 1952) have been applied. Evacuation measures taken in the city of Bucharest are designed to attain progressively the total evacuation of the following categories of individuals: (1) the families of war criminals, of deportees (to the Soviet Union), of convicts and prisoners, as well as the families of those who have fled to foreign countries. By "family" is meant husband or wife, children, brothers, father and mother. The people who belong to this category are given the right to take away 50 kgms of baggage. They must be prepared to depart to a prescribed destination on twelve to twenty-four hours' notice. (2) soldiers who have been dismissed from the army, former judges, former lawyers who have been disbarred, former industrialists and merchants whose properties have been nationalized, former landed proprietors having possessed more than 10 hectares. People belonging to these categories can take away everything they possess It can be seen from the foregoing that the forced resettlement of these persons is in no way related to criminal activity or to trial and sentence for any offense.

The Extent of Forced Labor in Romania

Unfortunately, no witness account of forced labor in Romania has been made directly available for purposes of inclusion in this book. Probably the fear of retribution against family and friends who have had to remain behind is responsible for the impersonal information coming from Romanian refugees. However material has been collated and analyzed by the Romanian National Committee (Wash., D.C.) which, along with the International Federation of Free Journalists and the International League for the Rights of Man, has submitted its evidence to the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee.

Of particular interest is the description of some 50 forced labor camps distributed in various provinces of Romania. The most significant project is the building of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, which is estimated to employ from 60,000 to 150,000 prisoners, at thirty camps located

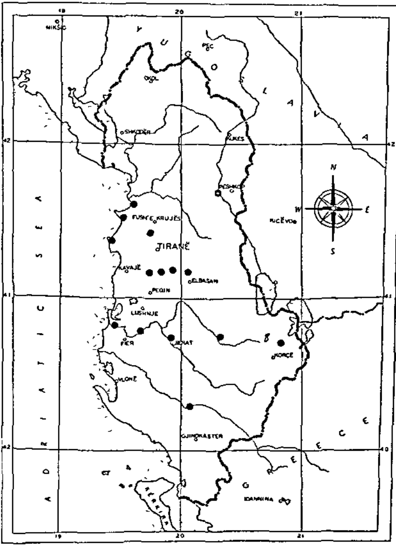
at various places along the route of the canal. The majority of these prisoners are intellectuals who are doing the work by hand. The food is very poor, the daily menu consisting of corn meal with a soup made of onions or beans. Prisoners work more than 12 hours a day. Sanitary facilities are almost totally lacking, contributing to a high death toll. Religious and political leaders are numbered among the prisoners doing forced labor on this project.

At Vlahitza is a special camp for the Catholic clergy. Here, between 1500 and 2000 Catholic priests are imprisoned, and forced to do humiliating work. At Ostroveni camp in the County of Valcea, 200 persons are interned, mostly former merchants and members of the middle class. At Anina camp in the County of Banat, the prisoners are workers and political prisoners who are forced to work in the iron mines In Moldova is a camp which contains 10,000 forced laborers for the power plant near Bicaz in the County of Neamtz. Side by side with "free" workers, the prisoners here do forced labor in the nature of carrying heavy materials for the construction of a large plant and dam. At Jalomitza camp in Muntenia are all those evacuated from the big cities and from the western front area. The prisoners are workers, former landowners and political prisoners. They work on the Dambrovitza-Danube Canal. At Craiova in the County of Dolj, is one of the most severe camps, where 1000 prisoners, mainly democratic political leaders are confined. The prisoners here do forced labor and are tortured by their jailers in order to obtain statements against Dr. Iuliu Maniu (imprisoned head of the Peasant Party) and the heads of other democratic parties. At Galatzi in the County of Covurlui, the most important political leaders are imprisoned. The camp is also a screening camp for deportees to Soviet Russia. Five known camps supply labor for road and railroad construction. An entire forced labor system is centered around Ploesti, focal point of Europe's largest oil fields.

Even more dramatic in impact are the figures on internal deportations within Romania, submitted by the Mid-European Studies Center to the United Nations *Ad Hoc*

Committee. On the basis of a population in 1948 of 15,-873,000, the evidence seems to indicate deportations to the Soviet Union of more than 1¼ million persons, and internal deportations of 250,000. This would indicate an overall dislocation of approximately 10% of Romania's population.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the pattern of forced labor in Romania is similar to that of the Soviet Union and the other satellites. The total system is designed to uproot from the body politic persons whose class affiliations or democratic-intellectual backgrounds render them "dangerous" to communist society, and to make of them the unwilling "red ants" whose physical labor helps build the economy of the communist state.



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN ALBANIA

CHAPTER VIII

ALBANIA: SOVIET OUTPOST

Emergence of the Communist Pattern

Albania is not only the smallest of the satellite countries, but one of the smaller countries of Europe both in area and population. It occupies a position in some ways unique in the communist world, although conforming to the communist political pattern.

Albanians are a ruggedly independent mountain and agrarian people. Socially and economically, the country had changed little for centuries prior to World War I. Tribes, somewhat resembling the clans of Scotland, claimed the primary allegiance of most of the people, whose dominant religious faith is Moslem. Throughout the Italian and German occupations, a strong resistance movement flourished and harried the occupiers. In the latter days of World War II, there existed the closest cooperation with the Yugoslav Partisan movement headed by Tito. At the end of the war, [illegible] country, with [illegible] slavia. In this [illegible] goslavia and, as a result of a treaty of economic union in 1946, became economically a virtual province of Yugoslavia.

All the usual communist measures were applied—economic, social and political—and it was during this period that the system of slave labor was imported with other communist innovations. The legal basis for forced labor in this little country was established even before the war was completely over, with the passage in December, 1944 of a law for the judgment of war criminals and enemies of the people. A new law against anti-government activities was

passed in February, 1947. The laws of these two years superseded the provisions of the Penal Code of 1928, and introduced the principle of forced labor in addition to imprisonment.

The Tito-Stalin rupture of *1948* greatly changed the position of Albania in the communist constellation. Albania did not throw in her lot with Tito and his national Communism, but remained in the Soviet orbit. Tito's Yugoslavia was figuratively banished to outer space, and instead of revolving around the Yugoslav planet, which no longer revolved around the Soviet sun, Albania became a direct satellite of Russia.

Since then the position of Albania has been unique. The only country of the Soviet group not directly connected by land communication with Russia without passing through anti-Soviet territory, Albania forms an outpost of Soviet Russia on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean Her only two land neighbors are anti-Russian Yugoslavia and anti-communist Greece Unlike Yugoslavia, which has shown *slightly democratic sympathies, Albania has become in*creasingly a tight police state. Since 1948, prison terms with condemnation to forced labor for political offenses have shown a marked increase, as has the number of forced labor camps

The pattern is much the same as in the larger satellite countries, but in addition to sentences for democratic or anti-communist acts or attitudes, Albanians may suffer the sternest punishment as *Titoists Since 1948, the authorities* have tried to isolate the people from the twin heresies of democracy and Titoism. The borders are subject to extreme security measures, even by communist standards, and virtually no communication exists with any country save the Soviet Union. But enough Albanians have escaped to Yugoslavia or to Greece to reach the free world with descriptions of forced labor conditions. These have been compiled and analyzed by the National Committee for a Free Albania (Rome), and were incorporated into testimony submitted to the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee in October, 1952.

In such a small agrarian country, forced labor is employed mainly for such projects as the drainage of the swamps, the building of canals, roads, railroad improvement and similar work demanding the hardest physical labor. On the basis of witness accounts, it may be concluded that forced laborers are at work in camps situated in the central and southern parts of the country.

Working hours and conditions follow the familiar pattern: an eight-hour work day in theory which, in practice, may extend to ten or even 12 hours; food, usually insufficient, and of the lowest quality. From reports of escaped prisoners who served in both prison camps and labor camps in Albania, we learn that the diet is practically uniform in both, with a slightly higher bread ration in the labor camps (650 grams as against 500 grams). As in all the satellite countries, the work norm is set extremely high, with penalties for failure to achieve it. Health is poor, due to deficiency diet and hard physical labor; medical attention is scant.

Reshad Agaj, who fled to Greece on July 14, 1950, and Skender Dume, who fled to Greece on December 9, 1949, furnish a description of a typical camp, housing 1200 prisoners, located on the outskirts of the village of Vlocishti. The prisoners were employed in the opening of the Dunavec canal. They were housed in four barracks, in each of which 300 prisoners were confined. These two-story buildings had doors at both ends, open summer and winter. Overcrowding was extreme, each convict having a space of only 50 cm. Sanitary appliances were absent. One water pipe supplied all prison needs, including cooking requirements. Latrines were few. Not only the prisoners, but the buildings themselves were infested with lice, and no disinfection was attempted.

The diet was inadequate. Breakfast consisted of the day's bread ration—600 grams (1 lb., 2 oz.). To wash it down, the prisoners were given a sort of tea. Both the noon and evening meals consisted of soup, made with mac-

aroni, potatoes or beans. Constant hunger became as normal as constant exhaustion. Food parcels from friends or relatives were allowed, but were given out spasmodically, after the police agents who examined the parcels took whatever they wanted. Prisoners were limited to whatever clothing they brought with them.

A prison dispensary was serviced by three doctor-prisoners. Medical treatment was not only inadequate, but the prison authorities often overruled the recommendations of the doctors for rest—the only practical remedy available to relieve the more infirm inmates. One report relates that the doctors serving at the Vlocishti camp (Dr. Jusuf Hysenbegaj of Pogradeci, Dr. Spiro Treska of Korca and Dr. Dhimiter Lito of Girokastra) declared one prisoner, Dhimitri Tirana, unfit for work. Despite this, Skender Xhemali, a Sigurimi (Security) agent with the rank of policeman, who virtually ran the camp, accused the sick man of malingering and required him to continue work. Day after day, the doctors in vain declared him unfit. One day the sick man collapsed en route to work, and died by the side of the road.

Among the camp privileges was that of sending and receiving one letter per month. No visitors were permitted, and the cherished letter privilege was revoked as a punishment for infractions of rules.

The Daily Routine

At 5·00 A.M., the prisoners were started on their way to the work sites, carrying their tools—shovels, boards, hoes and barrows. The prisoners were divided into six brigades, each consisting of four companies, and each company divided into three gangs. The work site was approximately 7.50 km (4 miles) from the camp, and the prisoners were forced to cover the entire distance on the double. The narrow road was muddy and often flooded. The prisoners were not allowed to use the narrow bridges spanning the ditches, as these were reserved for the guards escorting them. The prisoners consequently had to wade through

ditches full of mud and water. Indeed, the canal work itself was performed in mud and water up to the ankles or knees. Cuffings and beatings were applied to stragglers, the worst sufferers naturally being the older and more infirm prisoners. If any fell on the way to work, the other prisoners were not allowed to help.

Once arrived at the work site, the day's assignment was based on a work norm of 3.50 cubic meters of earth to be dug and moved. Young, healthy prisoners were expected to exceed the norm, and those who did not, as well as older prisoners who did not achieve it, were held on the job after work, deprived of a food ration, and sometimes as an object-lesson, tied to a pillar for 24 hours upon their return to camp.

Reports on Other Camps

Reports on other camps are significant chiefly for their description of the basis of internment and the type of forced labor demanded. Muharrem Mulla, who fled to Greece early in 1952, deposes as follows:

"Since I had a brother as a political refugee in Greece, the Public Security Authorities arrested me at once and sent me to the concentration camp for obligatory work at Kamza, which is in the vicinity of Tirana. I entered the camp on February 15, 1950 and was freed on November 25, 1951. Of course I was not sent for trial since I had not been guilty. They interned me for security reasons. The concentration camp of Kamza is reserved for persons who like myself have outlawed relatives, inside or outside the country; for those who, though condemned by a court and having undergone their punishment, are, according to the communists' point of view, considered dangerous for the safety of the regime; as well as for the reason that the confined work of slaves favors the proletarian state which is the sole owner in Albania. . . .

"The work began daily at 7 A.M. and continued until 6 P.M. The inmates worked on the farm "The Red Star" and often were sent to work at the brick-kiln of Kaprake.

At the farm the work is done in the presence of the policemen and agricultural agents who assign the work norm, which is equal for all, without taking into consideration the physical capacity or age of the convicts. Those who do not complete their daily norm are sent to prison, deprived of the right to send letters or to receive visits and are insulted by the guards. When the work was over the convicts were sent into the woods, where they cut wood and carried it to the camp, for the kitchen, for the personnel of the camp and once a week to wash their linen; the inmates were not paid for the work which they did"

Zil Sylejmani, who fled to Greece in May,1951, made the following declaration:

"I was arrested by the Sigurimi police and kept in prison for 3 months and 19 days, with my hands and feet tied by a wire ... At the end of the 110 days, they took me before the military court, composed of five judges. The court declared me not guilty. Despite this the political police did not set me free, and immediately after the court sentence, sent me to the concentration camp of Tepelena where I arrived on December 27, 1950. . . .

"To this camp were sent three categories of people: 1) persons arrested and declared not guilty by the various courts but considered as dangerous elements by the political police; 2) persons condemned by the courts and who had undergone the punishment, but were considered still dangerous to the regíme; 3) relatives of political exiles. . . .

"The camp inmates were mostly employed in woodcutting and in its transportation to Tepelena. Every four or five internees would transport one cubic meter of wood. They did this about three times a day The forest was one and a half hour's walk from the city of Tepelena. Part of the internees were employed for the transportation of animal fertilizers from nearby ranches; this was used for the fertilization of the camp garden. . . . On rainy days, when it was not possible to send the men to the mountain, they were sent to sites 500 meters out of Tepelena, from where they would bring into the city stones for street building and repairs. In all cases the amount of work to be done as well

as the weight of the load to be carried by the internee was decided by the escort-policemen who, every time that one of us failed to fulfill the norm or fell down from fatigue, would see that the norm was fulfilled by any means, and that the tired man got to his feet unaided by his friends. He then would be kept in the camp prison for two or three days without food."

Salahudin Haxhiu, who fled to Greece in 1952, has these observations to report:

"I was serving my military term when I was unexpectedly arrested on April 12, 1949 by the Sigurimi police force. I was kept in a cell of the police station . . . in Tirana for two and a half months. I was then sent before the military court which sentenced me to 18 months jail for alleged anti-communist propaganda among soldier friends of my company. I was sent to prison and in January, 1950 was transferred to the forced labor camp of Bishqemi, situated in the district of Elbasan. . . .

"To the camp of Bishqemi were sent political and ordinary criminals, as well as members of the Communist Party who had been condemned for illicit actions. Those condemned for ordinary crimes and the Communists were employed by the camp administration as spies against the political criminals. The internees of the camp of Bishqemi came from every prison of the country. When convicts died or were freed at the expiration of their prison sentences, their places were taken by other convicts. The police were never short of prisoners. When the number of the convicts would decrease and the needs of the regime for manual laborers for work without pay would increase, other adversaries of the regime were arrested and sent to slave alongside their other unhappy countrymen. The present regime by its sentences against those who are not Communists, not only aims at the systematic liquidation of the anti-Communists but also at a maximum exploitation of their physical energies at work for which it would otherwise have to pay. . . .

"In connection with the work required of the prisoners, I am able to give the following facts: The prisoners

were divided into three brigades, — two of them worked on the tunnel and the third on the railroad. The brigade working on the railroad was composed of ordinary criminals, Communists condemned for embezzlement and old or sick men condemned for political crimes. The two brigades working on the tunnel were made up exclusively of political criminals and a few ordinary criminals who acted as spies against the former. We worked eight hours per day. . . .. We were supervised by a policeman who controlled our work of digging gravel and stones and cement transportation inside the tunnel. Many inmates were wounded by pieces of stones flying loose during rock-dynamitings. We had to stay inside the tunnel during the explosions. . . ."

The Soviet Model

In the short period of communist rule, forced labor in Albania has assumed its characteristic role as a means of dealing with political dissent and of exploiting this dissent in driving toward the nation's predetermined economic goals. It seems strange that a small country where a hardy people for centuries pursued a remote way of life—Moslem by faith, and far removed from communist theory and precepts—should have fallen to Soviet control. That it has is irrefutable testimony to the "efficiency" of those communist police state methods which enable a small fanatical party in control of government to put down any evidence of opposition or dissent.

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPIED EAST GERMANY

German experience with communist forced labor began on a mass scale. German prisoners, captured by the Russians, were employed by the hundreds of thousands as forced laborers within the Soviet Union. No accounting of the disposition of these prisoners has ever been rendered by the Soviet Government, and only a part of those held after the war have returned home. While justification for the use of German war prisoners to rebuild the Soviet economy may seem to exist in view of the wholesale destruction wrought by the Nazi armies, the fact is plain that the Soviet government, alone of the victorious powers, has kept war prisoners long after the war, impressing them as forced laborers on a scale unprecedented in modern history.

But this aspect of forced labor is not the concern of this study, nor is that of deportees to Russia—even though the numbers in these two categories are estimated in the millions. (Note the official reports of the Japanese and West German governments.)

While Germany is under obligation for reparations to each of the nations whom she ravaged during the war, it is only in Soviet-occupied East Germany that labor is being exploited to the direct advantage of the occupying power. The state, established as the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), is in fact a puppet state with all strings pulled by the Soviet occupation authority. And so the twenty million Germans who inhabit this area of their country have passed only from the despotism of Nazism to the tyranny of a communist regime, working largely for the Soviet economy.

The Forced Labor System in East Germany

The legal basis for forced labor in East Germany differs from that of the satellite governments in being twofold Not only has the government of the German Democratic Republic established a legal code embodying the familiar forced labor measures of the other satellite countries, but the Occupation decrees give the Soviet authorities complete control. When workers are needed for special projects, they are simply drafted. The labor officials use the same type of placement orders used for forced labor in Hitler's armament industries. In East Germany, there is not only the economic exploitation of the labor of political undesirables uprooted from the population, but the labor draft operates to require compulsory labor of "free" workers as well. While this is true in all the communist countries, it is perhaps most marked in East Germany because it is occupied territory

The greatest use of forced labor in a single state project is, as in Czechoslovakia, in the mining operations connected with uranium. East Germany, particularly in Saxony, possesses deposits of ore which are a continuation of the veins found in Czechoslovakia. Exploitation of these ores began shortly after the Soviet occupation and has continued at an ever-increasing tempo, the Soviet authorities having organized a special corporation to administer the operations. The uranium mined, as well as the byproducts, are shipped to the Soviet Union for use in atomic energy production.

The majority of the mines had been abandoned years before. After twenty years, they required the installation of modern equipment to protect the miners. But Soviet requirements for immediate production dictated the working of these deposits without the installation of even the most rudimentary precautions

At first, forced labor was not employed. Voluntary enlistments were sought by the authorities, and high pay was offered as the incentive to procure a skilled work force. But the recruiting of voluntary workers soon had to be aban-

doned in favor of a compulsory draft. Despite the incentives, well-founded rumors based on the experiences of the early workers dried up the labor supply.

The draft consisted simply of levying for workers by orders upon the municipalities. The following is a typical order for forced laborers issued in Dresden in 1947.

Employment Agency, Dresden
Main Office, Maternistrasse 17
Notice concerning male manpower for temporary work, ordered by the Military Occupation Authority.
Richard Ficher, G.m.b.H.
Dresden-A
Wienerstrasse 12, II

The employment office of Dresden has received an order to make available, for most urgent work, several hundred men in good physical condition. The number needed is not registered at this time at the free labor market. In accord with the proper authorities, therefore, we must secure them from their working places. In order not to burden any single shop with this requirement, we have decided on a quota basis for all shops, according to size, in our region. In agreement with the office for industry and commerce, and the union, your shop has to furnish a contingent of 20 men, in good health, between 18 and 45 years of age. The drafted men have to appear on Monday, May 12, 1947, at 8 A.M. at the Dresden Employment Office, where they will be told at what place to report for work.
With reference to the urgency and importance of the work to be done, which has to be finished within the time specified for it, we want you to take full responsibility for the execution of the above order.
Consideration for hardship cannot be given. We want to call to your attention that in all cases where the above quotas are not fulfilled, the proper authorities will mete out punishment under Order No. 3.

Signature

Stamp

The worker receives an order something like this:
You are hereby ordered to appear for work from July 19, 1947, until further notice at Aue (Erzgebirge).
You must report July 18, 1947 at 6 o'clock, at the Dresden Railroad Station with all your working papers (work-book, tax and social security cards.)
Information on the back of this page should be read carefully. The work contract can only be dissolved by the employment office of the city in which you are going to work.

Dresden, July 17, 1947
City Employment Office
Signature.

In view of the indiscriminate system of recruiting forced labor, political prisoners as such have not figured so largely as elsewhere. But they have increased in number, and changed in their composition since 1945. At first, the political prisoners consisted of war criminals and known Nazis. Later, they consisted more largely of those belonging to democratic parties which refused to accept the domination of the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party. Moreover the attack on the urban bourgeois element as hostile was stepped up, along with the liquidation of the more successful farmers under the land redistribution system. These numerous elements, with many individuals suspected of Western sympathies, have provided ready material for communist "justice"—and for the forced labor camps.

The Testimony of Fritz Loewenthal

Dr. Fritz Loewenthal, a German lawyer and formerly a Communist, in 1946 became Director of the Ministry of Justice in the Soviet administration in East Germany. Subsequently, he broke with Communism and escaped to the West. His eyewitness testimony regarding conditions in the German uranium mines in 1947 is particularly valuable, since it is the report of one who examined conditions from the more objective position of a favored observer, rather than from the subjective viewpoint of a victim. Dr. Loew-

enthal's data deals primarily with the conditions of "drafted" labor, which establishes the pattern for both "free" and forced labor in Eastern Germany.

"While I was in Zwickau I heard what was being done in the neighborhood, so I motored to Schneeberg. On the outskirts of the city, guards stopped me with a road block. Only after an energetic display of my Russian pass did they let me through. . . .

"After some investigation, I began to understand why the world had not discovered this slave-labor enterprise. Many thousands, no one knows exactly how many, work in the mines and on the surface with the most primitive tools. The pitchblende they gather is sent to the Soviet Union in long trains,—and at that time, some of the richest ore even by plane. . . .

"The influx of compulsory laborers from all of Saxony and beyond increased day by day They were immediately set to burrowing for pitchblende in the long-abandoned mines, many of them without clothing suited to the work, and without adequate tools.

"Like the forced labor in Hitler's armament industries during the war, work in the mines is arranged through placement orders of the labor officials, without consideration for the workers' health, occupation, or family circumstances. The laborers have been drafted from every level of the population, regardless of their suitability: office personnel, students, barbers, former lawyers and officials — anybody with arms and legs. In theory only those from 18 to 45 may be taken; actually children of 14 and men of 65 or more are at work. Only when they have a baby or children under six years of age are women exempt from work; housewives only when the household includes two or more working members.

"The 'norm' demanded by the occupation authorities must be filled, and filled quickly. If the supply falls below this quota, those responsible must face dismissal or worse. The Labor Office of Dresden alone sent 8,000 men to forced labor at Aue, and the Leipzig office sent considerably more. The small city of Langonsalza in Thuringia had

to supply 800. In June 1947 a textile factory in the Chemnitz district had to supply four of the 100 men in its employ who fell within the age group for the mines Many men and whole families pack their bags and hold themselves in readiness to flee from their homes to avoid the labor call. A few cases of self-mutilation have occurred. If the husband has disappeared the wife has to take his place.

"Inside the mines I saw that there were not even the most primitive safety appliances; no dust filtration, no provision for supplying air and light, and none for blowing out the used air. Most of the wooden supports in the shafts were rotten. The laborers had to descend into the depths on damp wooden ladders, and to work eight hours without a break in marshy passages, often in water to the knees, and often in a bent position. Before the mines were abandoned, horses took the minerals to the surface; today, in the age of progressive techniques, the carts are drawn by men.

"Underground, three shifts drudge without interruption; the 'norm' for each shift is three cubic meters. Above ground, there are two shifts; whether it is stiflingly hot or pouring rain does not matter No one asks where the workers will get dry clothes for the next day. Every worker—adult or adolescent, man or woman—must work on Sunday. Only about once a month is there a free day.

"I saw these weary brigades coming from their work in clay-smeared clothing, high-water boots on their legs, steel helmets on their heads, their sunken faces gray and dust-covered. They looked like the slave army of a modern Pharaoh.

"The number of severe industrial accidents, especially those caused by falling stones, is extraordinarily high. On April 25, 1947, in Pit 3, 'Breadknee,' a gallery collapsed, and twenty workers were buried. A few days later there was a bad accident in Pit 'Abraham' shortly after midnight; later another in the Lautaer Pit. So it continues, with nothing at all being done to protect the workers.

"Under such circumstances it was difficult to get sufficient replacements from the male population. So the

forced labor of women and girls was instituted at the end of April. Among those called to the Labor Office were pregnant women, mothers of small children, and women who did not have a single pair of shoes. Those selected were told that they were being sent to the so-called Sulphuric Acid Corporation in Marienberg. No appeal was allowed; as additional compulsion, the women's ration cards were taken from them. When they arrived in Marienberg, they had to dig on the dumps in day and night shifts—to the point of exhaustion They received ration cards for heavy workers, some additional food, and occasionally cigarettes as a premium. But the rations were not nearly sufficient to replace the overpowering use of bodily strength.

"The youth brigades sent into the Erzebirge are grouped in units of fifty. Four to six occupy a room, which is furnished only with wooden beds, cotton sacks, and possibly a blanket. For this the rent is 18 marks a month. Those who work underground have ration cards for heavy workers; those who work on the surface, card two. In addition each receives monthly a kilo of meal, three-quarters of a kilo of groats, barley, or noodles, and half a kilo each of butter and meat. Also distributed to workers in the mines are 100 grams of cheese and 200 grams of skimmed milk. The noon meal, very poor, is reckoned at 60 pfennigs. Since there are no vegetables, scurvy threatens. The bread tastes sour, and causes stomach and intestinal disorders.

" 'When we go to work,' one young man reported to me, 'we have to climb down 722 ladder rungs. Then we have to dig like mad in the bad air for hours If we don't fill the norm, there is neither food nor pay. When we get to the surface after work, we are completely exhausted. The pay is 7 marks 20 pfennigs for each shift—that is, it's supposed to be, but payment is always delayed for six to eight weeks. We have no means of cleaning up decently. And the place looks just like a prison camp. It is surrounded by barbed wire, and we are guarded by sentries with automatic pistols. Those who stay away from work are

dragged before the plant police; with bad luck, they get eight to fourteen days in the cell.

" 'When we come from the pit we are soaked with sweat; then we go out into the winter cold. I hope I'll get pneumonia quickly—that's the only way to escape from here.'

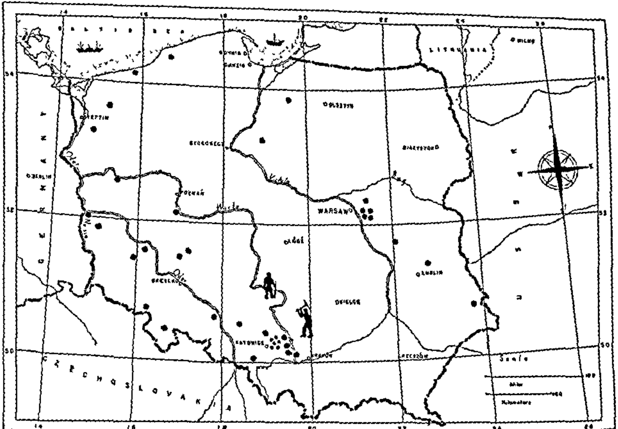
"The workers are driven ruthlessly. The Russian soldiers who act as guards continually shout 'davi, davi (give, give),' and are quick with blows and kicks If, in the opinion of the management, too little has been done, food is simply withheld Often the workers do not get the warm meal they are supposed to have after the shift.

"Naturally, illness is frequent. But unless they have open wounds or are running a high fever, the sick are considered capable of work. German physicians who report such 'capable workers' as ill are in danger of punishment for 'sabotage of labor.' If a worker is absent one day without excuse, he is given no food scrip for three days; if two days, no scrip for six days. Those who are absent three days are turned over to the police."

East Germany as Soviet Satellite

Since this report on conditions in one mine in 1947, evidence indicates an increase in forced labor throughout East Germany, and its gradual absorption of political opponents and hostile or unreliable elements. The streams of refugees from East Germany into West Berlin and the steady exodus over the long border to the West testify to the pressures of the regime on a basically reluctant people.

The United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee heard the story in affidavits presented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Brussels) and the Committee of Free Jurists (Berlin). The East German economy has been re-industrialized since its partial dismantling by Russia at the beginning of the Occupation, and the added manpower needed for new industrial projects is being recruited largely through the system of forced labor covering both political "criminals" and able-bodied workers.



FORCED LABOR CAMPS IN POLAND

CHAPTER X

POLAND

Poland alone of the satellite countries borders on Cominform countries only. All other satellites border in part on nations or zones not controlled by Communism or on anti-Cominform Yugoslavia. Poland's geographical position therefore makes escape doubly difficult But enough Poles have escaped to furnish at least a sketchy picture of the forced labor system.

According to evidence presented to the United Nations Committee by the International Federation of Free Journalists, there were in Poland in the autumn of 1952, 74 forced labor camps, with estimates of inmates running from 116,000 to 148,000. Similar testimony was submitted by the Polish Association of Former Soviet Political Prisoners.

The Network of Forced Labor Camps

The location of the camps coincides with the major industrial projects under way under the planned economy. (See inset map) The workers are employed in heavy industry or in building strategic communication systems which appear to fit into the Soviet Union's military plans.

Two types of camps exist—moveable and stable. The moveable camps shift as labor is needed for rail and railway construction. Stable camps are located chiefly at the Silesian mines, or in such places as the camp in the Mielecin district of Wloclawek where concrete plates and blocks are made.

Among those identified to the United Nations *Ad*

Hoc Committee in November, 1952 were the following camps:

(1) Leszno-Gronowo, situated along the railroad line Zamosc-Wlodzimierz Wolynski, two miles from the River Bug. Prisoners from this camp are employed in the construction of a railroad line running from Wlodzimierz Wolynski through Usilow to Hrubieszow and Zamosc, an airport in Moroczyn, a railroad bridge at Uscilug, an explosive powder factory in Strzyzew and in the underground munitions depot in Husinne.

(2) Warszawa "Ghetto," Warszawa "Gornoslaska," Warszawa "Podchorazych," located in Warsaw to supply prisoners for urban reconstruction;

(3) Zlotoria k. Legnicy, with 1500 prisoners engaged in copper mining;

(4-8) Rokitnica k. Katowic, Szopienice-Janow, Jaworzno k. Katowic, Knurow k. Rybnika and "Cleofas" near Katowice, engaged in the mining of coal in the Ostrava basin.

Prison Town

Information furnished by a young Pole, who before his escape from Poland was a youth functionary in Dziewkowice, describes conditions in a town with both a prison and a forced labor camp. He had not been an inmate himself, but he had observed the system and the conditions.

The life of the town of Strzelce Opolskie centers around the largest prison in Silesia (Centralne Wieziene Karne), with a prison population of between 12,000 and 15,000. The prison contains two factories, the larger of which makes shoes for the army. Two large adjoining farms, Mokre-Lany and Suche-Lany, are worked exclusively by prisoners. A local joke describes them as the only *kolhozi* (collectives) to show a profit. Prisoners were formerly employed in the local chalk and lime works, but since the construction in 1951 of a forced labor camp for this enterprise, prisoners work elsewhere.

Prisoners and forced laborers all wear uniform cloth-

ing, with a small cap on their shaven heads and wooden clogs on their feet. Food is scarce and poor. An agricultural implements factory in Strzelce Opolskie (Fabryka Maszyn Rolniczych Pionier) employs both "free" and forced laborers from the camp. Of a total of roughly 600 workers, over 20% are forced laborers, presumably "politicals"

The Forced Labor Camp in Modlin

Another young Pole who escaped to Austria gives details of a forced labor camp in Modlin, where he was imprisoned from April, 1946 to December, 1948, when the system was just beginning to be established. He testified:

"The camp consisted of four wooden barracks, each housing 50 prisoners, 200 thus being the capacity of the camp Each barrack consisted of one common room for its 50 inmates. There was one toilet and one washroom in each barrack. The camp was surrounded with a barbed wire fence, three meters high and three meters broad. There was also one watchtower in the middle of the fence. There was a heavy machine gun and a reflector in the watchtower.

"The inhabitants of the labor camp were clothed in ordinary prisoner garb made out of striped material and also fatigues left by the German Army. Our underwear was changed every other week and washed by those camp inmates who were too sick to do any other work in the camp.

"The food was sparse and very bad. For breakfast we got black ersatz coffee with 100 grams of bread (less than ¼ pound—2 slices). For lunch or supper we got either cabbage soup or bean soup with one slice of bread. The only specialty was one herring every Friday with two potatoes, one of which was usually barely edible. During two and a half years in this camp, I never saw meat or sausage.

"There were 20 guards in the camp and two watch dogs. Some of the guards were very strict; others seemed not to care much for their jobs.

"The camp inmates were taken to work in two groups

of 100 men each. One group was taken by foot to the nearby fortress to do reconstruction work after the German demolition.

"The other group was taken to a nearby quarry. Most of the time they were taken there by trucks. In four trucks they had 25 laborers each and four guards with carbines in each corner of a truck. The truck drivers were civilians and it was strictly forbidden for the inmates to talk with them. Whenever an inmate was caught talking to the driver, the inmate was severely beaten by the guard. When there was no truck at their disposal, the inmates were taken by foot to the quarry, which was a half-hour's walking distance. In such cases, they had seven to eight guards escorting them. The quarry was safeguarded by the fact that three sides consisted of the steep walls of the quarry and the fourth was the barbed wire entrance. The blasting in the quarry was performed by the guards, but all the other work was done by camp inmates. Including travel time, work hours were from 0600 to 1200 and from 1230 to 1800 hours (6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.). There was no pay for the work.

"One prisoner who refused to work was beaten up to the extent of needing hospitalization. When someone loafed on the job, he was also beaten up by the guards who used their carbines for that purpose.

"At 2100 hours (9:00 P.M.), everybody was supposed to be in bed. When the control found one man outside of his bed or talking to somebody else, all the 50 men were ordered out of the barracks and forced to stand at attention all night long. The following day, then, they had to work without food.

"There were no medical facilities in the camp. A physician came to the camp every Friday to look at the inmates who were seriously sick."

No available testimony describes the categories of forced laborers, but it may be assumed that the methods in a country so closely under Soviet control do not differ markedly from those in Russia. The means of repression of opposition or of suspected elements are prison and forced

labor. The wearisome and unhappy story of conditions is repeated in testimony from Polish escapees, and points up only the similarity of a system marked throughout the communist police states by its utility in recruiting the politically unreliable as a coolie labor force in industry and agriculture.

CHAPTER XI

TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia is today the only communist country not subject to the political and economic dominion of Soviet Russia. The break between Marshal Tito and Stalinist Communism illustrates the inherent resentment of foreign control which even Communism cannot obliterate.

Communism's Bright Star

When the Axis Powers were defeated, Yugoslavia was in many respects the country to which Communists and the Soviet Union pointed with the greatest pride. Tito had organized and led the Partisan resistance against the Nazi and Fascist occupiers. Of all the movements which fought against the Nazi occupation, the Partisans of Yugoslavia inflicted the greatest damage on the military forces of the Reich. Well before the end of the war, the Partisans were in control of much of the country. Tito was the hero of the communist world, emerging as a great national leader, a courageous military figure and, above all, a fanatically loyal, Russian-trained Communist. Yugoslavia was the first of all the communist countries to adopt the Soviet system.

Along with the adoption of this system came forced labor and the concentration camp as political and economic instruments of communist policy. The legal basis for forced labor was frankly copied from earlier Soviet experience. People's Courts were expressly authorized to sentence defendants to "deprivation of liberty with forced labor."

All so-called "people's authorities", from the highest levels right down to village committees, were authorized

to assign able-bodied men and women to do "social-corrective" work for short periods. This authority was used, particularly in the immediate post-war years, in the most arbitrary manner, and in practice the defendant was almost invariably sentenced according to the request of the public prosecutor, since both the defendant and his attorney were denied an equal opportunity to present evidence before the court.

Yugoslavia Moderates Forced Labor

After the Tito defection from Russia and the Cominform, there developed evidence to indicate a reduction in sentences to forced labor. This appears to be directly connected with the somewhat different economic policy instituted by the independent Tito regime. The grandiose and over-ambitious industrialization program has been scaled down to reasonable proportions, and the forced collectivization of agriculture was abandoned in February, 1953. Consequently, demands for manpower under the revised program have lessened, and there is less potential political defiance of the regime to require punishment. Moreover, with the assertion of Yugoslavia's political independence has come an increased recognition of legal rights even within the framework of a single-party police state.

Beginning with October 8, 1951, several new laws and regulations have modified "corrective labor," but none liquidate the forced labor camps nor release prisoners previously sentenced In fact, despite some changes in the law, forced labor admittedly still exists. Alexander Rankovic, Minister of the Interior in charge of the UDBA (Secret Police), himself described the arrests which in part account for forced labor in an address to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on June 4, 1951. Deploring an excess of communist zeal, he stated that 47% of all arrests by the UDBA in the year, 1949, were unjustified, and that the arrested persons had to be released after investigation He added that many UDBA officials violate the law by failing to inform the public prosecutor of arrests, and

hold arrested persons longer than permitted by law. Moreover, he admitted that "many sentences are not convincing, owing to a disregard for the defense of the accused and for the witnesses for the defense." (See also the official reply of the Yugoslav government to the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee inquiry.)

Extent and Pattern of Yugoslav Forced Labor

The number of persons sentenced by the courts in communist Yugoslavia is almost unbelievable by Western standards In 1948 — 128,108; in 1949 — 93,598; in 1950 — 136,396. These are official statistics, reported by the Minister of the Interior. In addition to those sentenced by courts to forced labor, uncounted thousands have been forced to work for the state in labor camps by administrative fiat. According to the cited figures, over 300,000 Yugoslavs, out of a total population of some 15,000,000, were arrested and passed through communist jails in the three-year period, even though it appears that almost half of them were released after investigation. By comparison, the total jail and prison capacity of Yugoslavia in 1938 was less than 9,000.

Yugoslav forced labor operates along lines similar to that of Russia and the Soviet satellites. The infamous Nazi camp of Banjica is now a large communist prison, and much new construction has enlarged its capacity. Thousands of forced laborers are at work in the Bor and Trepca mines, and many more thousands of prisoners are doing forced labor connected with industrial projects and railroad construction. For work in the latter category, camps are scattered along railroads between Szbac-Koviljaca, Valjevo-Zvornik, and near Pec and Prizren. While the majority of the camps are in Serbia and Croatia, others are scattered throughout the country.

The Sources of Yugoslavia's "Criminals"

Since the Yugoslav defection from the Cominform, the

position of Albanians in Yugoslavia is doubly perilous. Communist Albania having remained a firm Russian satellite, these former Tito proteges are suspected of being Cominformists and, as such, are regarded as enemy agents. There is a special camp, Kosmet, Otahovo, apparently exclusively for Albanian prisoners.

Religious leaders of the Catholic, Orthodox and Moslem faiths have also been imprisoned, many being used as forced laborers. Indications point to greater freedom for religious organization since the Cominform break of 1948, although the government tolerates no activities beyond worship.

The regime deals most severely with those who had opposed it prior to World War II, and during the war years, and with those suspected of Cominform sympathies. Members of Mihailovich's *Chetniks* were automatically considered criminals, and received the most summary justice in the first flush of communist power. Those connected with pre-war governments, which were actively anti-communist as well as anti-Nazi, are likewise considered criminals.

One example of "guilt by imputation" illustrates the point. An elderly Yugoslav widow was arrested shortly after the communist assumption of power in 1945. Her crime was simply that her husband had been an important functionary in the pre-war Yugoslav government. Even though he had died some years before, communist "justice" demanded that she pay for her husband's "crimes." She was sentenced to six years at hard labor, and served her sentence in the prison of Pozarevac.

Life in the Camps and Prisons

As in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries, forced labor in Yugoslavia forms an integral part of the economic system. The Zale camp near Ljubljana is an example of forced labor as a reservoir for both construction work and heavy industry. One prisoner's story illustrates its use.

Eduard Bukovsek was drafted into the German Army during the war, and after service in Germany, was sent to the Russian front. He was captured by the Russians, and remained a prisoner in the Soviet Union until 1947. He was then handed over to the Yugoslav government, along with 1,278 others. They were all brought to Ljubljana where they were separated and returned to their home districts to stand trial. Bukovsek was returned to Celje in Slovenia, where he was tried and sentenced to 20 years at hard labor by the military court. He served in 11 different forced labor camps and prisons in Yugoslavia, finally escaping from Poljanski Nasip in January, 1952. In April, 1952, he escaped across the border into Austria. His deposition is valuable not only for its information on many Yugoslav camps and prisons, but for its coverage of the period when the forced labor system had been ostensibly modified.

It would appear from his statement that little, if any reform has taken place in the system. The Zale camp appears to be typical. Comparatively small, it accommodated approximately 1,000 prisoners, including many priests. The priests were especially subjected to humiliation and abuse, both by the authorities and by other prisoners. While the majority of the prisoners were political, many common criminals were also confined there, constituting, as usual, the prison aristocracy who received the easier assignments and preferential treatment.

Most of the prisoners work as forced laborers on construction of an electric power station on the Sava River and on the building of a foundry at Litostroj. Working conditions are hard, and the prison diet is inadequate to sustain heavy manual labor.

About 20 kilometers from Ljubljana is a former convent of Ursuline nuns which has been converted into a prison for some 700 inmates. The building is part of a 600-year old castle which, for centuries, was the residence of the Bishops of Freising in Bavaria. This prison (Skofija Loka) provides the labor to operate a nearby motor plant. The road from the prison to the plant is fenced in, and the factory itself is completely surrounded by a barbed-wire

fence. A senior officer of the UDBA, Slavko Svajga, is in charge of the prison, and his assistant, Boko Puha, is the manager of the factory. Most of the laborers are political prisoners, but there is the usual admixture of common criminals who act as spies on the others.

Typical of prison diets is that provided at the Ig camp Breakfast consists of a cup of black coffee and the day's 600-gram (one pound) bread ration. At mid-day, the prisoners get a pint of soup, usually made of beans, barley, cabbage or some other vegetable, and very little fat. Dinner consists of corn mush with cabbage, sometimes beans. The treatment at the Ig camp is reputed to be somewhat worse than is usual in the camp system, owing to the presence of a particularly brutal commander.

At another camp (Medvode), working conditions and food are described by former inmates as "abominable." This camp is directly subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, and is designed to hold the "worst" political offenders. A typical work norm is set at the loading or unloading by a gang of eight men of 120 cubic meters of broken stone in an eight-hour shift—a formidable task for well-fed men. If the norm is not fulfilled in eight hours, the work is continued until the quota is met.

Political prisoners, sentenced by courts or police, are employed on construction projects throughout the country: army barracks, hospitals, factories and the like. The Minister of the Interior is in charge of the whole machinery of police, prisons and forced labor camps. He lives in a villa in Belgrade, for which he ordered extensive alterations and additions, almost entirely executed by his own political prisoners serving as forced laborers

While there is extensive documentation on forced labor in Yugoslavia, it should not be taken as an indication that conditions are worse than in Cominform countries. It is merely that, of all the communist countries, Yugoslavia alone has frankly admitted to the existence of forced labor practices, whereas the Soviet Union and her satellites have drawn an Iron Curtain around conditions in their lands.

CHAPTER XII

THE "NEW" CHINA

While published material on forced labor in communist China is sparse, some evidence has been submitted to the United Nations Committee by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The information was gathered from Chinese who escaped through Hong Kong, from underground agents in China of the Free China Labor League (Formosa) and from published statements in Chinese newspapers.

The evidence indicates a wide-spread resort to forced labor for huge new projects requiring unskilled labor. Dams, railroads, canals are being built by manpower recruited from politically hostile or uncooperative elements. The numbers of forced laborers are estimated by all sources to be in the millions — not extraordinary in a communist state of over 450 million people. The Free China Labor League estimates a total in excess of 18 million distributed over 5,147 camps. Mrs. V. L. Pandit of India, who recently visited China and is not unfriendly to the Chinese communist regime, is quoted as saying that two million men have been drafted to work without pay on just one huge dam.

That condemned political prisoners are sentenced to forced labor as a "reformatory measure" is admitted in an official policy statement of Chou En-lai, foreign minister, who reported to the National Political Consultative Commission on October 23, 1951,

"In accordance with the directive of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we decided that in the meting out of punishment, the following principles should be followed. To those leading counter-revolutionary elements who owe us a debt of

blood, who are so bitterly hated by the people that they must be executed, who have seriously hurt the interests of the state, the death sentence must be imposed and must forthwith be executed. To those other elements who deserve the death penalty but who do not owe us a debt in blood, who are not so bitterly hated by the people, who have hurt the national interest but not most seriously, the policy is to impose upon them the death sentence, but to postpone its execution for two years, to send them to forced labor, and to see how they come out."

Conversion to the communist view is apparently the way they must "come out" to avoid death, if a paragraph in the Peiping *People's Diary* is authority. It is quoted as saying:

"Deferment of two years does not mean immediate release after two years. Based upon the accomplishment during these two years, decision will be made as to whether the execution of the death sentence will be carried out. If it is found that the work they achieved is not satisfactory or that they refuse to reform, they can be executed at any time. Even if they show willingness to be reformed, their conviction can also be commuted to life imprisonment for certain terms."

Another Peiping newspaper, *Jen Min Jin Pao,* quoted the head of the security police, Lo Yui-ching, as saying, "the subjection of counter-revolutionaries to forced labor is an indispensable means for the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary class."

Evidently, not only counter-revolutionaries and politically unreliable elements are victims of forced labor, but other classes, too, are drafted without regard to political attitudes. A former communist official, Chen Han-po, in a book, *Peiping Today,* written shortly after the communist ascent to power, said of the treatment of an estimated 100,000 street beggars in the city,

"One day, the NKVD decided they should do productive work. The entire Peiping Armed Police suddenly appeared in every lane and alley, meticulously rounded up beggars and divided them into two groups. The aged and weak were sent to tend horses and cattle in Manchurian

meadows, the young and able-bodied were sent to slave camps in the Yellow River district and to the mines around Shanhaikwan."

In attempting to evaluate reports on forced labor in communist China, several factors must be considered before writing off as "exaggerated" the figures given The vast population, the long civil war which divided the people, the communist demands for immediate heavy construction and industrialization, the integration of Red China within the Soviet economic empire all contributed to a swift and systematic onset of forced labor. Although the evidence is scant, there can be no doubt of the role which forced labor now plays in the economic, political and social life of China's communist police state.

POST-SCRIPT

From the Author's Point of View . . .

The evidence in these pages, even where spotty or inadequate, demonstrates beyond doubt the existence in all communist dictatorships of a ruthless system of forced labor — of utilizing as expendable unskilled manpower on "socialist reconstruction" the labor of political opponents or "unreliable" elements Coupled with the forced draft of labor as needed—without reference to alleged political offenses — the total program menaces the entire working class, and constitutes a callous violation of the human right to live one's life with one's family and to work at an occupation of one's choice. No other system of government in time of peace has imposed so great an abomination on so large a segment of its people.

But it will be argued that to attack only one phase of the multiple evil of the communist police state is futile, and that no remedy short of its abolition or sudden transformation into a democracy is realistic. While this contention is supportable, it overlooks the possibility of gradual reformation of major evils through maximum exposure to public opinion. If expansion of the communist police state is to be checked other than by force of arms, it is facts alone which will help the desperate and frustrated people in the world to reject the communist alternative And it is world public opinion alone which can ultimately force the communist states into some acceptance of the dignity of man. As the world comes to know more about forced labor, about religious persecution, about the wholesale liquidation of economic classes and ethnic groups, Communism will stand exposed as the base, cynical affront to mankind that it has become.

While the report of the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor will add the authority of an offi-

cial body to the findings of fact in this relatively unexplored area, I hope that this present volume has the merit of presenting in briefer and more popular form the general character of the evidence. If it also has the effect of arousing interest and support in behalf of the United Nations effort in attacking this evil, then the author will feel truly rewarded in having struck a meaningful blow at political tyrrany.

APPENDIX

LEGISLATION ON FORCED LABOR

The Soviet system of forced labor has been adapted to the satellite European nations. The system evolved in the Soviet Union over a period of 30 years, but took its near-final form in the early thirties with the adoption of the *Corrective Labor Codex of the RSFSR* on 1 August 1933.

One of the stated ideals of the Bolsheviks during the period after the Revolution was to abolish penal institutions. Lenin thought that crime would disappear with the complete defeat of capitalism. Capitalism, he said, was the social background for the growth of crime. With the establishment of the State of Socialism, the roots of crime would be abolished. The actual experience in Soviet society was quite apart from the Bolshevik theory. Crime increased to such an extent during the middle twenties that prison facilities were inadequate and sentences had to be reduced. There seemed no way out of the impasse.

With the establishment of the first Five Year Plan in 1928 came a possible solution. Production was the keynote of Stalinism and many new laborers would have to be incorporated into developing industry. Some laborers were supplied from the countryside. Others were the criminals. Instead of serving sentences in prison, the criminals would work on socialist construction. This new punishment was called "corrective labor," but in reality it was forced labor. It worked and was expanded. The base of guilt was extended to include those merely *threatening* the well-being of the communist regime. The enemy of the communist state

became the laborer of the Five Year Plan. The system was consolidated in the *Corrective Labor Codex.*

The system continues today in the Soviet Union as it had developed during the first 20 years of communist rule. More than that, the system has been exported to every communist-controlled country—Albania, Poland, Hungary Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic nations, Rumania, China and anti-Soviet Yugoslavia. The laws in these countries, on the basis of which a person is committed to forced labor, are not precisely the same as the equivalent laws in the Soviet Union However, the result of the penal process under the laws is exactly the same: persons who would be innocent under traditional laws are guilty under communist legal practice and are condemned to forced labor camps. A review of the laws of all communist countries documents the legal basis for forced labor.

We have not included forced labor legislation in Albania; it is not available. And Eastern Germany's specific forced labor laws are of little practical consequence as that country is really governed by decrees promulgated in conjunction with the Russian occupation. With these exceptions, the following appendix is a compilation of the principle laws used by each country as the basis for a system of forced labor.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN RUSSIA

In Volume 29 of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1935 edition, page 598, the corrective labor policy of the Soviet Union is concisely stated:

> "CORRECTIVE LABOR POLICY, a branch of the criminal law policy of the proletariat which consists in effecting punishment combined with corrective labor measures, i e., corrective labor with deprivation of freedom, exile combined with corrective labor, deprivation of freedom. Corrective labor policy has the aims of (a) placing criminals in conditions where they are deprived of the possibility of committing acts which inflict harm on Socialist construction; (b) re-education of criminals and their adaptation to the conditions of the laboring community. These aims of corrective labor policy derive directly from the proletariat's policy of criminal law in the transition period from capitalism to communism, a task which consists of the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Socialist construction being carried out by it against encroachments of class-hostile elements and infringements on the part of both declassé elements and unstable elements from among the workers "

This paragraph makes clear the use of so-called criminals in the construction plans of the Soviet Union The *Criminal Codex* is, of course, more specific in its mention of the crimes for which a person can be committed to a forced labor camp. Article 58 of the *Codex*, "Counter Revolutionary Crimes," reads·

> "Any act designed to overthrow, undermine or weaken the authority of the workers' and peasants' Soviets and the workers' and peasants' governments of the USSR of the Union and Autonomous Republics . . , or designed to undermine or weaken the external security of the USSR and of the basic economic, political, and national achievements of the proletarian revolution, is deemed to be a counter-revolutionary act."

The crime under Article 59 is "against the system of government," but short of committing acts directly aimed at overthrowing the Soviet Regime. More specifically,

> "Crimes against the system of government without counter-

revolutionary aim, which shake the foundations of the State administration and the economic strength of the USSR and of the Union republics, are regarded as crimes constituting a special danger to the USSR."

The article quoted covers sufficient territory to include nearly any person in the Soviet Union who expresses any hostile attitude, if not an act, against the system of government. The sentence is forced labor or, according to the Soviet jurists, corrective labor. By 1940, the jurists had been able to define forced labor more completely. Volume 47 of the 1940 edition of the *Soviet Encyclopedia* stated, under the term "Forced Labor" (the term is used):

> "Forced labor is one of the basic measures of punishment of Soviet Socialist criminal law. Forced labor consists in the sentenced person either being forcibly directed to work organized by corrective labor organs, or remaining at work at his normal place of work in which case the authority sentencing that person to forced labor imposes a deduction from the wages amounting up to 25%; in the time remaining after his work the sentenced person is not subjected to any limitations."

Sentences to forced labor are graded. For example, the worst possible sentence is for those "persons condemned to exile with corrective labor," who perform the following type of work (Article 101 of the *Codex*):

> "(a) for hire in State, cooperative, social enterprises . . .;
> (b) in enterprises specially organized for this purpose by the corrective labor institutions;
> (c) on mass work organized by contract between the corrective labor institutions and the State and cooperative authorities;
> (d) in colonies for mass work."

Persons condemned under this article are sent to the farthest corners of the Soviet Union, where living conditions are excessively harsh.

We have quoted sufficient laws to show the general nature of the legislation on forced labor. The *Codex* has 147 different sections, and provides for the self-financing of the forced labor camp system, which is under the direction of the MVD (security police, formerly NKVD). The MVD is an administrative organ with a multitude of functions: it condemns persons to forced labor by the adminis-

trative process, not permitting a defense or public trial; it is a construction agency which is charged with fulfilling the plans for industrial expansion; it contracts with other construction agencies, supplying them with forced labor victims; it oversees the administration of the camps. Its functions are carefully outlined in the *Codex.*

The system of forced labor outlined in the laws above forms the basis for similar systems in all countries dominated by the Soviet Union. Even though the laws of the satellites are not directly copied from the Soviet laws, the satellite laws are sufficiently similar to enable the same system to flourish in all of them.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The spirit of communist legislation in Czechoslovakia was expressed in a collective work designed to explain the provisions of the new *Criminal Code* of 1950 (J. Filipovsky and others, *O obecne casti trestniho zakona,* Prague, 1951):

> "Socialist legality means the precise application and observance of such laws as are in accordance with the will of the workers' class and of the toilers; its aim shall be to crush the people's enemies and to protect and strengthen the dictatorship of the workmen's class in order to construct Socialism and later Communism."

Another quotation from the above mentioned work is more directly to the point of forced labor camps:

> "Confinement in a forced labor camp is a means of effective struggle against the remnants of the capitalist society who endeavor to restore capitalism in our country, or at least try to slow down or render more difficult our way to Socialism. Where the offender does not show the results of the educational punishment and remains hostile toward the state, such further means must apply"

Legal provision for forced labor in Czechoslovakia was enacted in the Decree on Labor Duty of October 1, 1945 (Decree No. 88, *The Collection of Laws*). This law, passed as a result of pressure from Dr. Jozef Soltesz, a Communist who was Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, enabled the labor departments appointed by local administrations to assign men from 16 to 55 and women from 18 to 45 to compulsory work ostensibly for the interest of the public. The law was signed by President Benes and other non-communist members of the government. Even though the law was originally considered an emergency measure and to last for only two years after the termination of hostilities, it remained in force until the communist *coup* of February 1948. This law enabled the Communists to send many of their opponents into compulsory labor

service. Only five months after their successful *coup*, the communist regime amended Decree No. 88, thereby extending the period for which a person could be confined to compulsory labor from 18 months to three years.

On October 25, 1948, previous laws on compulsory labor were superseded by the Forced Labor Camps Act (Law No. 247, *The Collection of Laws*). Section 2 (1) (a) provided· ·

> " . to the camps shall be sent persons who have reached the age of 18 and are not older than 60, and are physically and mentally fit, but shirk work or menace the structure of the people's democratic order, or the national economy . . ."

Such a person could be sentenced to hard labor in a forced labor camp for a period between three months and two years, without a hearing and on the decision of a three-man commission appointed by local administrations (i.e —Communists). The commission was also authorized to prohibit a released inmate of a camp from taking up residence in certain regions. Law No 247 also outlined in detail provisions for administering forced labor camps, the wages (if any) to be paid to the inmates for their labor, the punishment for inmates disobeying camp regulations, the proper method of burial for a deceased inmate, hygienic measures for quashing epidemics of typhoid, etc.

Though this law was repealed in 1950, it was replaced by even more definitive laws, particularly the new *Criminal Code* of July 12, 1950. The code embodied the provisions of the repealed Law No. 247, as explained by Ferdinand Bilek ("The New Administrative Criminal Law," *Official Gazette of the Ministry of the Interior*, Nos 2-3, June 1950, p. 136):

> "Experience with the carrying out of the Law on Forced Labor Camps (Law No 247 of 1948) shows that these camps play an important role in the re-education of persons who by their previous convictions and attitude against the people obstructed the building up of Socialism in the Republic. Successes achieved, in particular in training these persons to work, in including them in constructive work after their release from the camp, led to the conclusion that these camps must be used for a more progressive execution of the penalty of confinement imposed for offenses motivated by an inimical attitude toward the present social order. Therefore, this insti-

tution will be incorporated in the Administrative Criminal Code, although the Law on Forced Labor Camps will be formally repealed."

Section 36 (Confinement in a Forced Labor Camp) of the *Criminal Code for Courts* of July 12, 1950 (Law No. 86 of 1950) provides:

> "Whoever, by committing an offense, manifested his inimical attitude against the people's democratic order and, while serving the punishment, did not prove by his work and his conduct an improvement justifying the hope that he would follow the orderly life of a working man may be placed in a forced labor camp for a period from three months to two years after he had served the full term of his penalty of confinement."

Section 12, subsection 3, of the *Criminal Code for Administrative Authorities* (Law No. 88 of 1950), states further:

> "If from the manner in which the petty offense was committed, it is evident that by it the offender had manifested, or intended to manifest, an attitude inimical to the people's democratic legal order of the Republic or to the establishment of Socialism, punishment by confinement from three months to two years may be imposed. Simultaneously the fine may be imposed in an amount twice as high as that provided for the petty offense in the special part of the Code. The punishment by confinement and the substitute confinement ordered for uncollectible fines shall be served in these cases in forced labor camps"

Thus, by these codes, the laws regulating confinement to forced labor camps were made much more stringent.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN HUNGARY

There is no specific provision for forced labor or forced labor camps in the legal codes of communist Hungary. However, there are laws passed as war measures before the First and Second World Wars and as measures to quell the chaotic state of Hungarian affairs in the early twenties—laws which have not been repealed by the Communists. A person can be confined to forced labor in Hungary today under the provisions of these prewar laws. The Minister of the Interior has administrative power to use internment proceedings against persons under suspicion only, persons not in sympathy with the spirit of the People's Democracy. In such cases there is no recourse to the regular courts and no rules of procedure. A review of the pertinent laws to set up a system of forced labor is presented below:

Law No. LXIII of 1912 on Extraordinary Dispositions in Case of War, and the amendments to this law, provided for police surveillance or internment of subversive persons. Administrative authorities were granted broad discretionary power under the law, but were under the close supervision of government authorities not to abuse such power.

In 1919, after Admiral Horthy came to power, the Minister of the Interior issued a decree with the following provision (Decree No. 4352):

> "Section 1: Foreigners and person belonging to their households shall be expelled from the country and/or shall be interned if, in consequence of their behavior, their stay appears to be·
>
> "(a) dangerous to the interest of the state and society, to public order and safety;
>
> "(c) detrimental to the interests of the State and society or to the public order and safety; more properly, if their action is detrimental to our economic life among our confused public circumstances. . . ."

The law was aimed at communist agitators, remnants of Bela Kun's so-called Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919).

Law No. II of 1939 on Home Defense superseded Law No. LXIII of 1912. The 1939 law granted broad powers to the government, including the Minister of the Interior, *in case of war*. The law empowered the cabinet to banish persons "disturbing public order and security or another important state interest" and could compel such persons "to do labor according to their abilities" (Section 150)

Apparently no legal provisions for the creation of forced labor camps have been passed by the Communists. However, a law issued in 1939 (Decree No. 760, 1939 B M.) by the Minister of the Interior can be considered the basic law for the establishment of such camps. Section 12 of that decree reads:

> "The Minister of the Interior assigns suitable large buildings in certain localities for use as internment camps. . . ."

Section 16 provides:

> "The internees shall perform work according to their abilities, but not any physically harmful labor."

Section 17 of the decree could be interpreted as forming the basis for the self-support of the internment camps:

> "The internees shall, in general, be provided with supplies by the government, and they shall pay for their supplies either from thir own assets or from their own earnings. . . ."

Another section of the decree provides for sentences up to six months and extension of the sentences at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior.

It appears, then, that even though communist legislation establishing a system of forced labor in Hungary has not been promulgated, the old laws form a sufficient basis for the contemporary forced labor system in Hungary. The old laws can be interpreted in such a way that anyone can be sentenced to an "internment camp" without trial, that these camps are under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior and that they are self-supporting—a system similar to that of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN BULGARIA

Legislation in Bulgaria to provide for forced labor came into existence shortly after the communist *coup d'etat* on September 9, 1944.

The Decree-Law on Communities for Educational Labor (*Durzhaven Vestnik, No.* 15, January 20, 1945) set up such communities for ostensibly depraved persons, such as blackmailers, gamblers, prostitutes, beggars and "persons convicted more than once for crimes of a general nature, if they are dangerous to the public order and security of the state." (Section 1)

Section 2 of the law confined those guilty under Section 1 to "governmental farms or enterprises, designated by order of the Minister of the Interior . . . with the purpose of ridding such persons of their immoral and criminal inclinations and habits, to train them in honest labor, and to elevate them morally and intellectually."

Section 5 stated that "the confined persons may be placed under the surveillance of the People's Police."

Under the decree-law, a person could be confined without trial, simply by executive order; and the sentence, to run six months, was renewable

A second law, the Decree-Law on Communities of Educational Labor for Politically Dangerous Persons (*Durzhaven Vestnik,* No. 15, January 20, 1945), broadened the category of those who could be confined to forced labor. Section 1 reads:

> "Persons endangering the order and security of the State may be confined in special communities for educational labor established at certain governmental farms and enterprises or in designated villages, and be placed under the surveillance of the People's Police."

As in the previous law, the Minister of the Interior had competence to enforce the law; and the stated limita-

tion of six months on internment could be extended by the Minister of the Interior.

On November 15, 1945, the Decree-Law to Establish a Fund for Communities for Educational Labor was passed, providing for the self-support of the communities, which are forced labor camps. Section 2 states:

> "The purpose of the fund shall be the establishment and maintenance of Communities for Educational Labor for the following·
> "(a) Persons politically dangerous to public order and security in the country; . . ."

The other categories of internees are the same as mentioned in the above decree-laws.

Section 3 establishes the sources of the fund:

> "The fund shall be derived·
> "(a) From the sale of products of the shops and farms of the Communities for Educational Labor;
> "(b) From sums paid by agencies of the central or local government autonomous and public institutions for the use of the labor of persons confined in the Communities;
> "(c) (From) gifts and other sources."

Thus, as in Russia, the forced labor camps in Bulgaria are self-supporting. This decree-law was under the competence of the Minister of the Interior.

The most significant and all-encompassing law on forced labor in Bulgaria is the Law on the People's Police (*Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948). The category of persons who can be confined to forced labor camps without trial was broadened to such an extent that the Ministry of Interior can now punish any member of society for vague and doubtful crimes. Section 52 of this law reads as follows:

> "The People's Police may detain and commit to communities for educational labor or to a new place of residence persons (guilty) of Fascist and anti-popular manifestations who are dangerous to public order (and) the security of the State or who spread malignant and false rumors."

Section 54 provides that "internment in a new place of residence may be permanent or temporary."

This law repealed the two decree-laws passed on January 20, 1945, but included all provisions necessary to

maintain a legal basis for confining any Bulgarian citizen to forced labor without trial on orders from the Minister of the Interior.

On February 20, 1950, a law was passed that brought forced labor legislation in Bulgaria to full development. The Edict Concerning the Merger of the Communities for Educational Labor Fund and the Improvement of Prison Administration in Bulgaria Fund (*Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 47, February 25, 1950) provided for the following (Section 2):

> The purpose of the Fund shall be
>
> "a) To organize and use the labor of the prisoners and persons who are compelled to stay in an assigned place of residence. For this purpose workshops, farms, and other economic enterprises shall be created from the Fund and shall belong to it."

This edict repealed the decree establishing the Fund for Communities for Educational Labor, but retained the basic purpose of that law—to make forced labor camps self-supporting under the *aegis* of the Ministry of the Interior.

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punishment inside the penitentiary doing industrial work . . or outside the penitentiary at publicly useful works"

The laws quoted supply the requisite labor for the industrial development of Romania under her economic plans. In order to provide efficient numbers of laborers, the courts and administrative agencies have been granted powers to arrest and bring to trial persons who have committed "crimes" that amount to opposing the communist regime.

Article 1 of the Law for State Security prescribes the death penalty not only for "treason" but also for "any prejudice brought to the State's power." Article 3 of the law punishes a person destroying equipment, machinery, etc., as well as for the "failure to perform, or deliberate carelessness in the performance of, duties." The definition of a crime, then, has been greatly expanded so that nearly anyone in Romanian society can be punished by death, imprisonment or forced labor for such petty offenses as omission or carelessness.

Forced labor exists in fact in Romania. As in other Soviet satellites, persons are committed to forced labor camps through the legal process, either administrative or by court trial. The laws forming the basis of the forced labor system have been expanded by the communist regime in Romania to such an extent that almost any person can be committed to a forced labor camp.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN POLAND

In Poland a person can be confined to a forced labor camp with or without trial, according to legislation promulgated after World War II.

Unlike in Hungary, there was no prewar legislation that could be interpreted as creating the legal structure for forced labor. The *Criminal Code* of 1932, which has not been repealed, did mention that persons could be sentenced to "workhouses" as punishment in lieu of a fine (Article 43). However, workhouses had not been established in Poland before the war; and there is no connection between the Criminal Code and the establishment of a system of forced labor in communist Poland.

New legislation was devised. The Decree of November 16, 1945 (*Journal of Laws, 1945*, No. 53, Law No. 302) established the Special Board to Combat Abuses and Acts Harmful to the National Economy, an administrative body granted power to confine persons to forced labor camps without trial. The above decree was amended and incorporated into a decree of the Prime Minister on August 31, 1950 (*Journal of Laws*, 1950, No. 41, Law No. 374), which is in force at present. Article 1 of this decree states that the Special Board can "try cases involving offenses characterized as detrimental to the economic and social life of the country, in particular those in which the cause of prosecution shall be the misappropriation of public property, corruption, bribery, speculation, and creation of panic in order to harm the interest of the working masses." This article grants the Special Board jurisdiction over a potentially broad scope of crimes. Article 6 adds the authority to deal with cases where the "offender's action results from his aversion to work or in which the act

constitutes a danger leading to abuses and economic sabotage."

A person so convicted under the above articles can be confined, according to Article 7 of the same decree, to a "labor camp for a maximum term of two years and impose a fine not to exceed 150,000 zloty. . . ."

Article 9 provides that "Proceedings in which the confinement to a labor camp is imposed are conducted without a defense counsel." There is no appeal from the sentence of the Special Board.

The enforcement of this decree is in the competence of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Public Security, "each within the scope of his authority." (Article 13).

Thus, under the provisions of the above decree, a person can be confined administratively, to a forced labor camp, without trial or defense counsel and without the right of appeal.

The *Political and Economic Yearbook* for 1948 devotes a chapter to the "Special Board and Labor Camps," mentioning the powers of the Special Board to sentence persons to labor camps under the Decree of August 31, 1950. On p. 417 and following, the purpose of the labor camps is concisely outlined·

> "Since the decree provides for compulsory labor in a camp, and the camp is essentially a closed-up place isolated from the rest of the community, in practice internment in a labor camp is equivalent to imprisonment. . . . Work as the main element of a penalty gives the labor camp the character of a penal and educational means corresponding to the needs of our times in which we cannot tolerate parasites, either in the nature of persons averse to work, racketeers, black market dealers. . . ."

The chapter also mentions that the Special Board set up labor camps at Jaworzno and Milecin, two well known forced labor camps, and outlined the type of work done by the inmates (felling trees, excavation, etc) for "national reconstruction "

A person can also be sentenced to a forced labor camp as the result of a verdict of a regular criminal court. But ordinarily, the prosecuting attorney before the Special

Board can request the transfer of a criminal case from tl trial court to the Special Board, which proceeds against tl offender in the administrative way mentioned above.

The Law of 4 February 1950 (*Journal of Laws*, N 6, 28 February 1950) provided for "Substitute Militai Service," which requires that members of the military ser ice perform "work necessary for the defense of the sta and for the realization of national economic plans." Sul stitute military service lasts two years. It is a form c forced labor, but not of the sort resulting from broadl defined "crimes" harming the "interest of the workin masses."

Poland, then, like other Eastern European satellite of the Soviet Union, has a legal basis for a system o forced labor that can reach any member of society who i one way or another opposes the communist regime.

FORCED LABOR LEGISLATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

According to an official report to the United Nations on 17 July 1952 from the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia, that country abolished forced labor as a penalty for crimes by Article 24 of the *Criminal Code* of 2 March 1951. However, laws still exist in Yugoslavia that, in effect, provide for sentencing to forced labor camps persons who have committed offenses less than crimes. Forced labor as such is no longer mentioned in federal legislation "Socially useful work," "confinement for re-education," and "penal-correctional institutions" are words that now replace specific mention of forced labor or forced labor camps in laws pertaining to offenses that do not constitute crimes. The administrative process chiefly has been relied on to commit offenders to what are, in reality, forced labor camps. Present legislation of the administrative type has the following functions and effect, according to the report to the United Nations from the Yugoslav government.

> "The laws of the Republic on offenses against public order and peace provide for protective measures in the form of confinement in a determined place, for the purpose of re-education, for a period of six months to two years, against those menacing in less dangerous ways the territorial integrity and independence of the State; those involved in hostile activities against the Republic; those associating against the people and the State or spreading hostile propaganda, in order to prevent their detrimental influence upon other persons In such places these persons are re-educated through educational measures, among which the assignment to work for the purpose of re-education may also be applied"

The Basic Law on Petty Offenses (4 December 1947) empowered administrative agencies of the executive branch of the government, e.g. the Minister of the Interior, to confine convicted persons to "correctional labor" for offenses less than crimes. But on 8 October 1951, Law No. 428 was enacted to supersede the Law of December 4.

1947. This law, the General Code on Petty Offenses, stated that "penalties for petty offenses may be a fine or imprisonment" (Section 6, para. 1) and that *"administrative penalties of correctional labor and reprimand may not be imposed"* (author's italics) after 8 October 1951. Under section 159, para. 2 of the same law, those serving penalties of correctional labor were to be imprisoned instead, after the above law went into effect. It would appear, then, that correctional (forced) labor as a penalty even for petty offenses was abrogated and that imprisonment had replaced it. That this is not completely the case is borne out by the above quoted passage from the report to the United Nations submitted by the Yugoslav government.

Under section 155 of the 1951 law, the laws and decrees on petty offenses previously issued by the individual people's republics (the Yugoslav states) had to be brought into conformity with the new federal law. The Law of 8 October 1951 itself contains no provisions on confinement in a certain place and no direct authorization to the individual people's republics to provide for such confinement. Nevertheless, the individual people's republics enacted laws providing, among other things, for confinement of persons suspected of being politically unreliable to a certain place for a period of from six months to two years. But no mention is made of labor duty in this connection. (*See for example, the Law of 6 December* 1951 *to Make the Provisions of Petty Offenses of the Laws of the People's Republic of Montenegro Conform with the Basic Law on Petty Offenses, Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Montenegro, No.* 27-28, *Law No.* 153, 31 *December* 1951.)

Consequently, while no legal basis for confinement without trial is disclosed in the current federal legislation, it exists in the laws of the individual people's republics in the form of provisions dealing with "confinement in a certain place." It is possible that this confinement is coupled with forced labor, i.e. "correctional measures" or "socially useful work," but no legal enactment can be found in direct support of such a conclusion. Thus, although it is admitted that people are still being confined to forced labor

camps by administrative process, neither the federal Yugoslav law on petty offenses nor the laws of the individual people's republics appear to furnish a basis for these practices.

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